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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
VOL. III.

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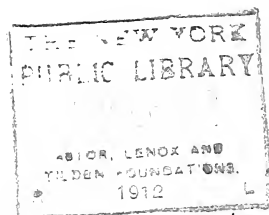
CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION;
BEING
LETTERS OF EMINENT MEN
TO
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
FROM
THE TIME OF HIS TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY
TO
THE END OF HIS PRESIDENCY.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS
BY JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME III.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.

1853.



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CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.*

Trenton, 22 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

My anxiety for the supplies of the army has brought me to this place, in order that I might satisfy myself as to the quantity on hand, and the means of forwarding them. General Knox has communicated to me your Excellency's orders on this subject. Nothing short of them would, I am fully persuaded, be of sufficient force to produce the desired effect; and the knowledge of them will, in a great measure, render the execution of them unnecessary. Impressed with this idea, I have been long laboring to bring Congress to assume the power which will enable them to call forth the resources of the States, but unhappily without effect. However, I hope much from their pressing and reiterated demands.

What principally induced me to trouble your Excellency at this time, is an apprehension which I, in common with many other gentlemen, entertain of the propriety of leaving the command at West Point in

* At this time a Delegate in Congress from New York.

the hands of General Howe. Having no personal acquaintance with him, I can have no prejudices, but the gentlemen from the southward by no means speak so favorably of him as I could wish. But in this, I conceive, that as yet he has had no opportunity of acquiring a military character. But confidence, which is so necessary to inspire courage, especially in militia, will, I fear, be wanting in him. If I might presume so far, I should beg leave to submit it to your Excellency, whether this post might not be most safely confided to General Arnold, whose courage is undoubted, who is the favorite of our militia, and who will agree perfectly with our Governor.

Your Excellency will not consider this as designed to convey the most distant reflection on General Howe, of whom I know nothing but by report, which may very possibly be ill grounded; but, if the most distant doubt remains, in a matter of so much moment, I conceive it should be removed. I make no other apology for the liberty I take, than the motive that suggests it, which has before now induced your Excellency to pardon an interference in matters to which I was no more competent than the present. This hasty letter is written while the express waits, whom I am unwilling to detain longer than while I declare the respect and esteem with which I am, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

FROM DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER AND JONATHAN
BEALL.

In General Assembly, Annapolis, 22 June, 1780.

SIR,

The extreme difficulty of embodying and marching the number of militia, required of this State by your Excellency and the Committee of Coöperation; the impracticability of marching them in due time, owing to the total want of camp equipage, arms, and accoutrements; the difficulty of procuring wagons and horses; the approaching harvest, and the importance and necessity of securing it,—have induced us to lay before your Excellency the following proposition. If it should meet with your approbation, and that of the Committee, we will stretch every nerve to carry it speedily into execution.

We propose to exert our utmost endeavours to raise two thousand regulars, to serve during the war, fourteen hundred and sixty-nine of this number to complete our battalions, according to the late proposed augmentation. The residue we propose to form into a regiment, to act in the place of the militia required; and this State will furnish and fill up the regiment, to its full complement, to join the Continental army, whenever we shall be called on to furnish aid of militia; and we flatter ourselves that, as long as we furnish our quota of regulars, and this additional battalion, we shall not be required to furnish militia, unless in cases of extreme exigency.

This plan, if generally adopted, would put under your Excellency's direction and command a regular and efficient force, on which you could constantly depend. It would save a great expense to these States in carriage, provisions, arms, and accoutrements. It

would conduce to reconcile the minds of the people to the heavy charges of the war, when assured they should be left at home, to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their industry. It would certainly tend to increase our crops, and afford the means of maintaining a much greater regular army than can be supported under frequent calls of the militia. It would, in some degree, prevent those emigrations of our men westward, which is become a very serious and alarming consideration to these States in general, and to this in particular.

If your Excellency, on a view of all circumstances, should think it more conducive to the public interest to order the fourteen hundred and sixty-nine recruits, destined to fill up our battalions, to join the army under your immediate command, they shall be sent forward with all the despatch in our power.

If this proposal should meet with your Excellency's approbation, and that of the Committee, it will be necessary, we apprehend, to draw from our battalions, under the Baron de Kalb, a number of officers to command, form, and discipline these new recruits.

If the two thousand two hundred and five militia should be thought absolutely necessary, and preferable to the plan proposed, we will use our utmost endeavours to forward them on; but we fear, however strong our inclination, it will not be in our power to send out that number by the time required.

We have the honor to be, with the highest respect and attachment, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servants,

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER,

President of the Senate.

JONATHAN BEALL,

Speaker of the House of Delegates.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LORD STIRLING.

23 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Just as I was setting out this morning to join your Excellency, I had intelligence that the enemy were out, and advancing to Springfield. I immediately wrote to the Commanding Officers of the militia, from Burlington to near Easton (and despatched messengers with the letters open); desired them to push down for further orders; and wrote General Greene what I had done, that he might, in case the enemy retired, send them counter orders. I then came through part of Morris county to Chatham, to see if I could be of any use in that quarter. I there met with General Wilkinson and Charles Stewart, who assured me that the enemy, after advancing to Springfield, and burning also every house there, had retired. The last I can find of them, their rear had passed the four-mile stone from Elizabethtown, on full trot. Some militia had got in their rear, and others attending their flanks, as regular as their flanking parties in their approach. They were early skirmished with; they were checked for some time at Connecticut Farms; the bridge at Springfield was nobly contended, for near forty minutes. The fork of the road, near Campbell's Mills, was so well disputed as to stop the further progress of the enemy's right column.

In short, in every part, our troops, Continental and militia, have behaved gloriously, and have made the enemy pay dearly for their jaunt. General Wilkinson informed me that General Greene had intelligence that all the enemy's flanking companies were to embark last night. I saw six British and Yagers

prisoners at Chatham, who all agreed that General Knyphausen commanded this day. I suspect Sir Harry means to make some lively stroke above you. I met General Wayne near Chatham, where he intends to wait your Excellency's further orders. I shall be on to join your Excellency early in the morning; and am, most sincerely,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

STIRLING.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Near Bryant's Tavern, 11 o'clock, 23 June, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I informed your Excellency, this morning, that the enemy were on the advance, in force. I now acquaint you that they proceeded, with vigor, until they had gained Connecticut Farms; they then were checked by Colonel Dayton's regiment. They have since advanced, in two formidable columns, on the Springfield and Vauxhall roads. After very obstinate resistance, they are now in possession of Springfield, with one column; with the other, they are advanced near the bridge leading to Vauxhall where Angell's pickets lay. From present prospects, they are directing their force against this pass, which I am determined to dispute, so far as I am capable. They are pushing a column to our left, perhaps to gain the pass in our rear towards Chatham. If they pursue this object, we must abandon our present position. The militia turn, and are few; and that few are so divided as to render little or no support.

They advance with seven pieces of artillery in front, and appear not disposed to risk much. The

militia are collecting, and I hope to derive support from them. I am

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Springfield, 7 o'clock, A. M., 24 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I make use of the first moment to acquaint your Excellency, that the whole force of the enemy, which has been in Jersey, went from Elizabethtown Point between twelve and one o'clock this morning. Whether they crossed to Staten Island, or embarked on board their shipping, I am not yet sufficiently informed, although it is reported they have embarked and proceeded up Hackensac River. To the latter I give but little credit. However, I shall take immediate measures to ascertain the truth, and discover their present position and designs, as far as is possible.

I shall do myself the honor to state to your Excellency, as soon as I have leisure, the proceedings of yesterday; and, in the interim, I am,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.*

P. S. I have ordered General Wayne to join the army under your Excellency's immediate command, and beg to receive your directions respecting the remainder of the troops.

* See General Greene's letter, describing the action at Springfield, in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 506.

FROM GOVERNOR GREENE, OF RHODE ISLAND.

Providence, 25 June, 1780.

SIR,

I have the honor to inclose to you a resolve of the Council of War, of this date, in consequence of a letter from the Committee of Congress, of the 12th instant, inclosing yours of the 11th, wherein the Committee most earnestly conjure us to send forward the troops of this State, without delay. The Council being apprehensive that the measure taken by the aforesaid resolve, might interfere with your Excellency's orders, and anxious to furnish you the most speedy reënforcement of this State's quota, have requested me to write your Excellency on this subject, that your pleasure thereon might be known.

The General Assembly have ordered six hundred and ten men to be raised, to complete this State's quota, and, for that purpose, have proportioned them to the several towns, to be raised and rendezvous at this place by the first day of July. Some are already raised, and every exertion of Government will be made to complete this number, as well as to furnish the supplies required by the Committee. Your Excellency may be assured this State will make every exertion in their power to answer the expectations of the public. I am, with the utmost esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
WILLIAM GREENE.

FROM CAPTAIN HENRY LEE.

Paramus, 28 June, 1780.

I wrote your Excellency this morning; since which

I have acquired more explicit knowledge of the enemy's situation in Bergen woods. They certainly may be expelled the country; perhaps they may be made prisoners. It would give peace to the inhabitants for twenty miles around, and very much assist agriculture. Scarce a night passes but ten or twelve horses are stolen. Another good consequence would result from this expedition; we might collect two or three hundred bushels of forage. Our horses are in great want. I have fifty infantry now with me; one hundred more will be necessary. If your Excellency approves of the attempt, I wish to attempt it to-morrow night; therefore the necessary reënforcement ought to arrive at Paramus Meeting-House by ten o'clock in the morning. I shall wait here for your Excellency's answer.

Yours most respectfully,

HENRY LEE, JR.

N. B. If they cannot reach Paramus by ten, we must postpone till the next night. In this case, I wish them to halt to-morrow (till they hear from me) at Mr. Fell's.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 29 June, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I take the liberty to inclose the copy of a letter I have received from Colonel Bowman, and copies of three several letters from the Reverend Mr. Zeisberger. The accounts contained in them are somewhat alarming; but I hope that my messages to the dif-

ferent Indian nations will prevent the British from carrying their expedition into execution.

Captain-Lieutenant Brady is just returned from Sandusky. He took two squaws prisoners, within a mile of their principal town. One of them made her escape after six days' march; the other he brought to Cuscusky, where he met seven warriors, who had taken a woman and child from Chartier's Creek. He fired upon the Captain of the party and killed him, and has brought in the white woman and the Indian's scalp; but the squaw made her escape at the same time. When Captain Brady fired upon the Indian party, he had but three white men, and only two rounds of powder left. He was without provisions for six days, but has brought his whole party safe to this place. His perseverance, zeal, and good conduct, certainly entitle him to promotion; and I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's notice.

I have provisions, at the dependent posts, for four weeks to come; and, by collecting all the cattle in the possession of the Commissaries, this garrison may be subsisted for the same term. But what I shall do for further supplies, I cannot devise, unless I send out foraging parties, and impress cattle; for the public has neither money nor credit here.

The artillery is arrived, and the military stores are safely lodged. The company consists of three officers, and twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates. I have not had the honor of a line from your Excellency since that of the 14th of March; but I hope one may be on the road for me, before this reaches head-quarters. Captain McIntyre will set out, a few days hence, towards the Indian country, with a small party of men, to take some prisoners or

scalps. With the most sincere respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 2 July, 1780.

SIR,

I have received, from the Committee of Congress, at head-quarters, three letters calling for aids of men and provisions. I beg leave to refer you to my letter to them, of this date, on those subjects. I thought it necessary, however, to suggest to you the preparing an arrangement of officers for the men; for, though they are to supply our battalions, yet, as our whole Line Officers, almost, are in captivity, I suppose some temporary provision must be made. We cheerfully transfer to you every power which the Executive might exercise on this occasion. As it is possible you may cast your eye on the unemployed officers now within the State, I write to General Muhlenberg to send you a return of them. I think the men will be rendezvoused within the present month. The bill, indeed, for raising them is not actually passed, but it is in its last stage, and no opposition to any essential parts of it. I will take care to notify you of its passage.

I have, with great pain, perceived your situation; and the more so, as being situated between two fires. A division of sentiment has arisen, both in Congress and here, as to where the resources of this country should be sent. The removal of General Clinton to the northward must, of course, have great influence

on the determination of this question; and I have no doubt but considerable aids may be drawn hence for your army, unless a larger one should be embodied in the south, than the force of the enemy there seems to call for. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 12 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I arrived here the last night, and this morning had the honor of congratulating Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau, and Monsieur le Chevalier de Ternay, on their safe arrival in this harbour. The fleet consists of seven sail of the line;—the Duc de Bourgogne, of eighty guns; Le Neptune and Le Conquérant, of seventy-four; Le Jason, L'Eville, L'Ardent, and Le Provence, of sixty-four; Le Fantasque, hospital ship, of sixty-four, mounts forty guns; two frigates and two bombs, with about five thousand land forces and one thousand marines.

The inhabitants appear disposed to treat our allies with much respect. The town is to be illuminated this evening, by a vote of the inhabitants. For myself, I am charmed with the officers. I have promised them every assistance in my power. Monsieur Rochambeau has desired me to publish an advertisement, inviting the inhabitants to bring small meats, vegetables, &c., to market, and that they shall receive hard money in payment. This the Count intended with a good view to our currency. I have told him

it will have a different effect, and that even at a distance. I shall, therefore, only assure the farmers that they will receive a handsome price. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

P. S. Inclosed is copy of a resolve of the General Assembly of this State. I have ventured to grant a pardon to such deserters from Colonel Greene's regiment as return by the first of September next, and hope it will meet your Excellency's approbation, as some of the deserters are at a distance.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STARK.

Exeter, 13 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Very much fatigued, I arrived in New Hampshire in seven days from the time I left you, and am very happy to acquaint you that the people of New Hampshire behave with the greatest spirit. The six hundred men required, are, for the general part, on their march; the nine hundred, I hope, will be ready to march by the middle of next week; and, by their present exertions, I cannot doubt but by that time they will be on the move. Some of them have already marched. I have directed them, at first, to rendezvous at Springfield. The way of Claverac is certainly much out of the route to the present station of the army; but, nevertheless, if you have any particular reasons for their moving by Claverac, let me know, and your orders shall be punctually complied with.

I have conferred with the Committee. They tell me they have wrote, and are surprised their letters have not reached you. The State has collected, and are still collecting, cattle for the use of the army. Every one seems sanguinely determined to do something of importance this campaign. As soon as the main body has moved, I shall follow. Springfield will be my first stop. There I hope to hear from you; but, if not, shall move agreeably to my instructions. I am, dear Sir, with much respect and esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN STARK.

FROM GOVERNOR RODNEY, OF DELAWARE.

Dover, 13 July, 1780.

SIR,

I heretofore informed you that the several matters, recommended by your Excellency and the Committee of Coöperation, as well as those recommended by Congress, were laid before the General Assembly; and, since they adjourned, I wrote to your Excellency how far they had complied with the several requisitions. But I find, by your letter of the 30th ultimo, I have not been sufficiently explicit with respect to filling up the State regiment, to the number of five hundred and four, rank and file. I am sorry to inform you that the Legislature have no otherwise complied therewith, than by appointing persons within the State to the recruiting service, owing, as I am informed by some of the members, to the regiment's being to the southward.

I have appointed the officers, and issued orders for assembling the regiments, directed to be raised from

the militia of this State, and am in expectation that they will be at the place of rendezvous by the time assigned in your letter of the 30th ultimo. However, I am of opinion that the great bounties given for men to fill this, will effectually prevent our recruiting in future the State regiment, which, I am persuaded, is of much more importance.

You will find, by the act for furnishing supplies of provisions, forage, &c., that the General Assembly have invested me with certain powers, for the more speedy obtaining the same, which powers, your Excellency may be assured, I shall vigorously and steadily exert for the good of the service. I am, Sir, with every sentiment of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
CÆSAR RODNEY.

FROM PRESIDENT REED.

Philadelphia, 15 July, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I must acknowledge and thank you most cordially for your truly friendly and valuable letter of the 4th instant. I consider it as an inestimable mark of that esteem, of which, with a kind allowance for human frailty, I trust I am not altogether unworthy, and which I shall be solicitous to improve and preserve, as adding dignity and value to my life.

I am sensible of the delicacy of my station, and that, whether I go forward or stand still, I run infinite hazard. However, personal considerations are secondary; I am willing to run any personal risk, if the measure bids fair to serve the public interests.

But there are political impossibilities, as insurmountable, almost, as physical or moral, and which prescribe limits to power and influence equally impassable. The Turk, as despotic as he is, cannot lay a new tax upon his subjects; nor can the King of France, arbitrary as he is, violate the rank of his army. The powers, therefore, supposed to be vested in me, however extensive, must, I take it, to be used with success, have a constant respect and attention to the feeling and general approbation of the people. I say supposed, because they are not vested in me singly, but in the Council, which is composed of five persons, some of whom have just pretensions, from their abilities, to very respectable characters. However they may be influenced by reason or argument, I neither wish, nor do possess, that influence which gains the opinion, without convincing the judgment. Their concurrence I must have in every case, and then the powers must be exercised under the restrictions I have mentioned.

I entirely agree with you, my dear Sir, that, in general, the best way to preserve the confidence of the people, is to promote their true interest; but then a question arises, whether they ought not to see their interest, and the case to be such, as they will be disposed to see it, when proper evidence appears. If a General declines battle because his interest is to delay or retreat, he may venture, and ought to get over the false shame of appearing to decline action; for he is certain that time will do him justice, and there is no permanent rooted passion of the mind to combat his prospects. But, where property is to be invaded, force used, life, perhaps, endangered in the struggle (for we have had officers killed in execution of the clearest law), I conceive common prudence suggests,

not merely a decisive, but also a cautious line. For I have found, by experience, that where you touch the property, be it of Whig or Tory, arguments, resulting from public good or public necessity, have very little weight. In the present instance, the demands for supplies are of such magnitude that the Whigs, both real and professional, must bear great part. There are but two modes of procuring them, persuasion and force; the former must be accompanied with money, which we have not; for such has been the waste of public confidence, that every dollar we can furnish is anticipated, by the calls of Congress, long before it reaches our treasury. Force, then, must be used upon so great a proportion, that it may be said to be nearly all. But from whence is this force to come? It must be the force of the country against the country. Experience enables me to say, that it is difficult to turn the force of the country against the Tories; for, in themselves, they are considerable in point of numbers and weight; but the support they receive from degenerate Whigs, for the sake of discrediting the government, enables them, if not wholly to defeat, to weaken the best measures for the public welfare, lest their enemies should get some reputation. I could give you some surprising instances of this, if it was necessary, and that from men who figure highly as Whigs in profession.

One mode they have taken is, to depreciate and discredit the State money, which they know is one of the principal means of enabling us to procure the supplies. It is an undoubted fact, that, after acknowledging its credit, and agreeing, under their hands, to take it in all payments, it is frequently refused but for goods; and then they lay an additional price, though they have solemnly agreed to receive it as

gold and silver. By arts and practices of this kind; by thwarting every measure of government; refusing even communication with it; setting up schemes of individuals; drawing off both the articles and the means of procuring them,—they not only mean to raise some reputation themselves (to which I have no objection), but the principal view is, to discredit us for not doing what they have prevented, and drive us to use violent methods, which, in addition to the heavy taxes, will disgust the people, and induce them to seek relief in a change of counsels.

A general combination seems to be entered into among them, to exaggerate the resources and supplies of this State far beyond their real bounds; and what I consider as the most unhappy is, that it is so agreeable that every ear catches the impression with greediness; and even minds that we cannot suppose interested in our disputes, receive the impression, and act under its influence. My situation, and acquaintance with the State, gives me a good opportunity to know, and I have taken care to inform myself. After making such a sacrifice of my own time and prospects, to the apparent ruin of my family, I cannot be suspected of sparing others unnecessarily. I can, therefore, with great truth declare, that the State does not possess those supplies which some give out; and it is obvious from the state of things, which cannot lie. In the first place, there are great numbers who will not cultivate or improve their lands as formerly, but only raise what is barely necessary for their own support, and, lately, to pay the taxes. All that surplus, which formed a great exportation, is not produced. In the second place, we have four entire counties, formerly productive of taxes and exports, which now draw their support from the interior country, and

must have constant advances of money, aid of men, &c., to an amount far beyond what strangers or distant observers can suppose. In the third place, the enormous debts of the Quarter-master's and Commissary's departments, and the depreciation of the money, have poisoned all the springs of industry. Finding, by experience, that they receive no value, not even a nominal one; well knowing, that while a war is to be carried on, their property, if found, must go, they not only have not the usual spur to acquire it, but they are laid under the strongest temptations to have as little as may be subject to this risk. A most infallible proof of what I advance is, that even for specie, so sought and coveted, articles cannot be procured, even of country produce, but at thirty-three and a third advance on former prices. This, surely, is no argument of plenty.

Our trade is supposed, by many, to be a source of wealth and strength; but every day's experience shows the fallacy of this reasoning. A supply of a few necessary articles is indispensable, and for which the luxury of the country might be sent out. But what are our importations? Sugar, wines, spirits, and gewgaws of every kind, only calculated to gratify pride, intemperance and folly; and for these the men and provisions of the country are sent forth in quantities and numbers that would give us great relief, if applied to the service of the country. When the enemy made their incursion into New Jersey, and the most alarming consequences were apprehended, we laid an embargo, which lasted only eight days; but it is difficult to describe the clamor this created, though, in the judgment of the most considerate, a measure important to the safety of the city itself. The merchants sent a deputation to know our rea-

sons, and to expostulate with us on this invasion of their property, and restraint of their business. In short, there is no measure we pursue, which touches interest or pride, but a powerful opposition is immediately made; and it has become such a fashion to find fault with the State of Pennsylvania, that most of our young politicians set out with it as their first and capital lesson.

Being influenced very much by your Excellency's opinion last winter, that we could not rely upon voluntary enlistment, but must have recourse to drafts to answer the demands of the campaign, I pressed the measure last March with all my might, but without success. Such are the circumstances, and such the disposition of the people, that the Assembly would not venture to pass the bill; nor, if they had, do I now think it would have been carried into execution; for no measure has been more generally reprobated. The cry is for voluntary enlistments; and the most confident assertions are made, that a sufficient number of men would have been procured, and on better terms. And now, such is the temper of the counties, that they absolutely refuse to march the drafts to the army, alleging the necessity of defending themselves and friends against the savages. The whole amount of these drafts would be twelve hundred, of which we suppose about one thousand might be thrown into the line; that we could then make some addition of voluntary recruits, and pick up some deserters, so as to fill up the deficiency stated last winter, namely, fourteen hundred and twenty-five men.

Except militia, I dare not flatter myself with any considerable additions. And when it is considered what heavy losses this State had in troops in 1770; the great proportion of our people who will not bear

arms under any pretext; the force to be kept on the frontiers; the drain which trade and privateers will unavoidably make; and the number which have been enlisted during the war, and consequently kept constantly in the field, subject to all the casualties of disease, desertion, &c.,—I cannot help thinking we are entitled to some degree of credit for what we have done, as well as what we may do. I have never sought after comparisons with other States, but have ever understood, that (Maryland excepted) this State always had a greater proportion of troops in the field than any State, unless we reckoned the ill-selected drafts that came in from some Eastern States, a proportion of which would not pass muster, and the rest went home as soon as they became soldiers. As to men enlisted for the war, this State has certainly ever had a great proportion, and would have retained a much greater, if the Land-Office in Virginia had not afforded both an asylum and a temptation for desertion. We now have very sufficient evidence, that great numbers of the deserters are at Kentucky, and its vicinities, where they are free from taxes, militia duties, and other burdens, and enjoy a sort of savage freedom, which is highly pleasing to some minds.

With respect to militia, I hope we shall be able to produce the number required without much difficulty, now the harvest is got in; but a call three weeks sooner would have been very distressing, and, I fear, impracticable, from the great scarcity of laborers in the country; that class of people being distressed by the war. I cannot say that I am very sanguine in my expectations of their being very useful, as they have not, in many instances, had that practice and familiarity with danger, which many other States have had. But the principal reason is, that the gentlemen

having generally withdrawn themselves entirely, or into separate corps, these officers are not such as I could wish, though there are some, of whom we expect respectable service.

We have been using every exertion to procure a number of teams, as well voluntarily as by impress, and they are coming in daily; but the Quarter-master's department is so deranged, that it is attended with considerable difficulty. I have frequently been obliged to interest myself to get them forage and provisions, as they are not officially known to the Continental officers. The Wagon-masters universally represent that they find their situation insupportably distressing; that the number of teams in the country has decreased one third; that, of these, from former service unpaid, the inadequate price, and real change of circumstances, a part can only be got, the rest hiding their horses and grain, and even destroying their wagons, that they may not be compelled to go.

To impress requires a force to support it, and, from the nature of the service, a number of people to collect and keep the impressed articles. Most of the teams yet obtained are pressed. I hope we shall be able to make up the number of two hundred and fifty, and then we shall immediately set about the collection of horses, wherein, I presume, there will be less difficulty, because we know they are in the country, and cannot be concealed with the same ease as grain, wagons, &c. We have quartered the whole number of wagons and horses on the counties, as well as the Commissarial articles, but the expectation of fully answering such a demand, amounting to one half and more (namely, one hundred and six millions of dollars) than all the money ever issued by Congress, cannot, I fear, be answered. I

have not met with one person, in or out of Congress, belonging or not belonging to the State, who does not pronounce the requisition, in its full extent, impracticable. I hope we shall get one thousand horses at least, and that we shall be able to answer the requisition of February. If we can do more, we shall; for, as I observed before, we have actually demanded the whole, have furnished all the Commissioners with blanks of various kinds of returns, and directed them to send us a weekly account of their progress. Our first instructions were for monthly returns; but they were not complied with, owing, as we suppose, to a want of skill in making the returns, and to a want of time to ascertain what they could do. I do not know how it is conducted in other States, but at least three parts of my time and labor are employed in doing this duty of Quarter-master and Commissary, to the great neglect of my other duties. I have never, in any part of my life, gone through half the fatigue of business that I have done for these two months past; and it is very discouraging, that, with so unremitted attention to the public service, I find I am to be the subject of complaint. I do acknowledge, my dear Sir, that my health and spirits daily sink under it, and that I find I am every week less capable of business.

While I see hundreds around me securing a comfortable competence for themselves and families, enjoying occasional amusements, and even members of Congress themselves, and their officers, partaking of the satisfaction of cheerful society, I am sacrificing my youth, my profession, my whole time, and denying myself all sorts of relaxation, that I may answer, at least in part, the expectations formed at this crisis. My conscience, and the knowledge those have

who see my course of life, must acquit me of any neglect; and if, after all this, I do not stand justified in the opinion of my country and friends, I think I have reason to conclude myself an unhappy and an injured character. I have seen some letters from camp, and one from Mr. Tilghman, that have hurt me a good deal, considering his connection with the State, and the station he holds in your family. In this letter, not wrote to a person of the most prudence or consideration, he pronounces our exertions scandalous. This letter is, doubtless, shown about town.

You observe, my dear Sir, that our affairs are not in the train they ought to be. I am not sensible of any material defect, but this I can truly say, that they are in as good a train as our abilities and the circumstances of things will admit. This State (setting aside the opposition to the Government) is composed of very heterogeneous particles. It has been settled by people from all countries, and a great portion of them very incapable to judge of the nature and extent of the present controversy, which arising from apprehension more than a reality of oppression, now that they feel the heavy taxes and the burdens which are necessarily laid, they begin to reason from their feelings and grow extremely uneasy. They cannot anticipate the future happiness of their country in being exempt from foreign laws and jurisdiction, when they find they must work harder and pay more than they did. Comparisons of former taxes, burdens, &c., are now frequent; and it is my firm opinion, sanctioned by that of many gentlemen of more knowledge and experience, that the people of this State would, if too heavily pressed, more readily renew their connection with Great Britain, than any State now in the Union. Even the arguments and

influence of Tories have great weight upon Whigs, when under the pressure of heavy taxes and burdens.

They are told, you are not well governed, and you will find (as you have found) that the yoke of Great Britain is easy and her burden light, compared with what you now endure. My best friends seem to have adopted a sentiment, which surprises me, and use arguments of this nature; — “your enemies will serve the public effectually and gain credit, you must therefore exert yourself.” My dear Sir, I wish every man to have credit and success, if he does serve the public, whether he is my friend or foe; and if he does it effectually, I am content he should have reputation. Let him make what use he pleases of it to my prejudice, I am conscious of having no object to stand in competition with the freedom of my country. This was my first motive for going into public service; it is still the governing principle of my life. Those, therefore, who really contribute to effect it, gratify me in the most essential point. But it does not appear to me that all the modes and measures taken lead to that point. The opposition in this State has no strength or consequence out of the city, that they acknowledge. Their separate schemes, therefore, serve only to embarrass; whereas, did they, as they ought, join with the Government, there is no point, scarcely, within physical possibility, we could not attain. They cannot have popularity, because the thirst of gain continually leads them into some scheme opposed to the public interests, which is discovered. A late instance has occurred in addition to twenty others.

The inhabitants of Bermuda have, to discourage privateering, associated to buy no prize goods. The consequence of which was, that those kinds of goods

might be had next to nothing; on which the principal merchants in this city, Messrs. Morris, Nesbitt & Company, send a person, or at least employ one, who had been proscribed, and who is since under security for his good behaviour. He goes to that Island without permission, and then, in company, they purchase those prize goods the inhabitants of the Island had associated, out of friendship to us, not to purchase, and import them under cover of British papers. We have seized the goods, and, upon inquiry, all these facts turn out in proof. We have never been able to get the least assistance from them to prevent taking deserters on board their ships; whereas a virtuous resolution to employ no Captain who received them, would do more good than all the laws, proclamations, and searches, that could ever be made.

But I find myself insensibly drawn to a tedious length of letter, which my anxiety to remove any unfavorable impressions has hurried me into. I will, therefore, trespass but little longer. From what I have said, I hope you will not suspect my relaxing in the public service, while I have strength of body or mind. I must entreat you to do me the justice to believe I shall strain the cords as tight as they will bear. Those of Government are never tied again, if once broken; and governing too much is the way not to govern at all. I will use every species of influence, argument, and authority I possess, to promote the views of the public at this juncture. I have done it for months past, as Congress are very sensible, from the letters laid before them, in consequence of a very unkind one from their Committee. Every motive that can interest or impel the heart of man, I must have on this occasion; and why should it be supposed that they will not have due opera-

tion? I am not so stupid as not to comprehend the force and necessity of corresponding fully with the exertions of our ally, nor so insensible of national reproach as not to feel for the honor of the country, if it should fail in a capital degree in its engagements. No one can more sincerely wish an end to the war than I do, or be more sensible that great exertions, at this period, may bring about this happy issue. Nor am I capable of mean and selfish pain, at seeing those who are my enemies more successful in serving the public than myself, if it should be so. If I know myself, my errors are of the head and temper, not of the heart. I rely, therefore, dear Sir, much on your friendship and candid construction, and shall take it as the greatest favor, if, in the same free and friendly manner you have now done, you will tell me what is amiss, and how I may rectify it.

Mrs. Reed and myself are exceedingly gratified with the kind and obliging notice you have taken of this small proof of our regard, in giving your name to our new-born son, and shall be happy, in every occasion, to give more extensive and essential proofs. And as to your good lady, her company gave us so sincere a pleasure, that we could not but regret that it was so short. We hope she got safe home, as we have not heard from her since we left her, a few miles on the way.

I am persuaded you are so busy that I hope you will not think of answering this long, tedious letter, which has been wrote by snatches, as I could steal a few minutes at one time or another. I shall therefore now conclude, with mentioning that next week will take forward two thousand excellent shirts and as many overalls, for the State troops, with a large supply of refreshments of other kinds; that we have

sent off a person to Europe, some time since, to lay in a good supply of all kinds of clothing for officers and six thousand men, so that we need not depend on uncertain and precarious supplies. Mrs. Reed received your kind favor a few days ago, and is exerting herself to comply with your direction; but there is, at present, a very great difficulty in procuring the articles, even for money. I am, with the greatest respect and most sincere regard, dear Sir, your obliged and

Most affectionate, humble servant,

JOSEPH REED.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 16 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Nothing of any considerable consequence has happened since I had the honor last to write you. The French troops are landed, and encamped in a fine situation, to the south-east of the town, and extend nearly across the Island. The troops make a good appearance. The legion, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun (the officer who took Senegal the last year), is as fine a corps as ever I saw. It is about six hundred strong. The officers express the highest satisfaction at the treatment they meet with. The markets are become very good, and great regularity is preserved. In short, in every respect, I may say, hitherto every thing appears agreeable and satisfactory.

I have this moment received a letter from a gentleman in Boston, advising that a vessel is just sent into that port, which was one of a fleet of thirty-six

sail from Ireland for New York. I have given information of it to the General and Admiral, and, I apprehend, some of the fleet will go out on a cruise. The *Hermione* has been cruising for these three or four days. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 18 July, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

A report from the Board of War, in consequence of a letter of General Gates's to Congress, referred to the Board, respecting the promotion of Colonel Daniel Morgan to the office of Brigadier-General, now lies upon the table, at my request. The Board have stated his former services, his being first Colonel of our line, and the deficiency of that State at present in her quota of troops. If a promotion of General Officers is to take place, and to be made through the line of the army, Morgan has many before him; but if the promotions are to be through the line of the State, that officer, it appears, stands first. General Gates has mentioned his intention of giving Morgan the command of a body of light infantry; but, as the State has given the command of the militia, lately sent to the southward, to Colonel Stevens, who was Morgan's junior officer in the Continental line, with the commission of Brigadier-General, he will command Colonel Morgan, and this, Gates thinks, will disgust him, and therefore, with great earnestness and warmth, presses his promotion. I shall thank you for your

confidential communications upon this matter, as the report, I think, will not be pressed or taken up until the Virginia Delegates are fully informed, as it was upon my motion, to obtain time for information, it lies upon the table. Besides, as he left the army in disgust, under your immediate command, I did not like the present mode of his obtaining the promotion, without (that I know of) any alteration of circumstances, at the pressing instance of General Gates.

Pray, my dear Sir, do you recollect the purport of a letter lately written to Colonel Harrison, Speaker of the House of Delegates, representing the deranged state of the French finances, their as well as Spain's declining navy, and the increasing strength of the British navy? I have heard of such a letter that gentleman received from you, and had shown to many of the members of our Assembly, and that it was like to prejudice rather than promote the service. I mention this in confidence, as the purport of the letter may have been misrepresented, and I have it not directly from one who saw it, or heard it read. Between ourselves, I fear that worthy man is no zealous friend of the alliance. I may be mistaken, but it is my present opinion.

An account, transmitted to the Admiralty Board by General Forman, makes the British, on the New York station, nine line-of-battle ships, two or three fifties, and seventeen frigates, and other armed vessels. Should this intelligence be true, the French fleet, as we have been told, though we have not yet the particulars of their strength, will be unequal to the undertaking. My letters from Virginia speak of our people as being roused. A bill had passed the Delegates, by a majority of three only, adopting the scheme of finance recommended by Congress. Thir-

teen of the Senate only were present; the opinion of ten of these publicly known, five for, and five against the bill. It was conjectured the others were in favor of the measure. Every fifteenth militia-man is to be drafted to fill up the deficiency of our line. This bill was also before the Senate. I hope you find the recruits coming in fast. The news of the arrival of the fleet will accelerate them. With great respect, I am,

Your affectionate, humble servant,
JOSEPH JONES.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAXWELL.

Camp Preakness, 20 July, 1780.

SIR,

I beg leave to trouble your Excellency on a subject, in which I request your aid. I am sorry to inform you, that, contrary to my expectations, I have not found my command in the Jersey brigade, for some time past, so agreeable as I could wish. I would remind your Excellency, that nothing but the most pure and disinterested principles induced me to enter the service, and, I trust, I have so far your good opinion that no endeavours, to the best of my abilities, have been wanting to forward the interest of my country, which has been my constant study since the first commencement of this war. Thus circumstanced, and to be uniform in my good wishes to a country I love, I would much rather choose to withdraw from a service I am fond of, than to remain where my services could not be made agreeable to my wishes. I therefore request that my resignation may be accepted.

At the same time, I presume, it would not be improper to ask of Congress all further immunities and rewards for my services that other officers of my rank may to this time be entitled to. I wish your Excellency to obtain as speedy an answer from Congress on this subject as possible, and at the same time to assure that honorable body, that my most sanguine wishes and services shall ever await both them and my country; which shall be gratefully acknowledged by, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
WILLIAM MAXWELL.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 21 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

A few days ago I received intelligence, that a party, consisting of thirty odd Wyandot Indians, had crossed the Ohio River, five miles below Fort McIntosh, and had hid thirteen small bark canoes upon our shore. I immediately ordered out two parties of militia, to go in search of them, and cover the harvesters. At the same time I detached Captain McIntyre, to form an ambuscade opposite to the enemy's craft. Five men, who were reaping in a field, discovered the Indians, and, presuming their party was small, went out to attack them; but four of them were immediately killed, and the other taken, before the militia could be collected. But Captain McIntyre attacked them in their craft, and many of them were doubtless killed and wounded. Two canoes were sunk, and the prisoner retaken; but the water was too deep for our party to ascertain the number

of killed. The Indians left all their craft, and in them two guns, six blankets, eleven tomahawks, eleven paint-bags, eight ear-wheels, a large brass kettle, and many other articles. The Indians informed the prisoner that fifteen Wyandots had marched towards Hannah's Town.

Upon receiving this information, I immediately detached another party up the Alleghany River, with two Delaware Indians, to take their tracks, and make pursuit; but, as this party is not yet returned, I cannot inform you of its success. It is with great concern I inform your Excellency, that there does not remain, in our magazines, provision to subsist the troops more than eight days, at full rations; nor can I conceive how supplies can be procured in time to prevent their experiencing great want. I have proposed a fair plan to encourage the inhabitants to sell us provision, upon the credit of the United States, but have no great certainty of success. I have submitted the plan to the Honorable Board of War, and hope it will meet with approbation.

Should I be fortunate enough to obtain supplies in time, I intend to penetrate the Wyandot country, this fall, and distress them and their allies by every possible exertion; and I expect Colonel Clark, as he is reënforced, will pay the Shawanese a visit about the same time. I should be exceeding happy to wait upon your Excellency, at the close of the campaign, but I am grown so poor that I cannot bear the expense of so long a journey, at the present extravagant rates. I have the honor to be, with the most exalted respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

July 22d. The party of fifteen Indians, mentioned above, crossed the Ohio River at Crow's Island, four miles above Fort McIntosh, killed and scalped one man, and returned. A party from hence, and another from Fort McIntosh, are in pursuit of them. A party of men, just arrived from Wheeling, found two of the Wyandot Indians, who were killed by Captain McIntyre's party, floating upon the water, and have brought in their scalps.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

New Bridge, 9 o'clock, P. M., 21 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Being convinced that our field-pieces were too light to make the wished impression on the block-house by Bull's Ferry, from an experience of more than an hour (at no greater distance than from fifty to seventy yards), during which time both officers and men evinced a degree of bravery seldom equalled, but never excelled; and seeing the enemy in motion on York Island, and their shipping under way, together with certain accounts of the embarking of a very large body of troops from Valentine's Hill, it was unanimously determined, in a Council of War on the field, to withdraw the artillery, and fall back by easy degrees to this place, to prevent the disagreeable consequences of being shut up in Bergen Neck. We accordingly moved off, after burning the flats and boats lying at the landing, and driving the cattle from that country, which was part of our plan. Our loss is from fifty to sixty killed and wounded, whom we carried off, without the least molestation. I will have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the particulars to-morrow.

I think it my duty to mention, that the enemy are in full motion on the North River, chief part of their troops embarked. As they have completed their foraging in East and Westchester, may not good policy induce them to take post between the Liberty Pole and this place, in order to render that essential article very difficult for your Excellency to procure, in case of a siege? I will shift my ground about two in the morning, and fall back towards the camp. Interim, I am your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 10 o'clock, P. M., 21 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

This afternoon, fifteen or sixteen British ships of war have made their appearance off this harbour, to the eastward of Block Island. More than half of them, I think, are ships of the line. From appearances, at sun-setting, they intended to come to, under Block Island.

Admiral Graves has probably joined Admiral Arbuthnot, and their design is to block up the fleet of Monsieur le Chevalier de Ternay, and, if possible, intercept the expected second division of the French fleet. I thought it my duty to give immediate notice to your Excellency, and beg leave to submit the expediency of some small cruisers being immediately sent from the Delaware, to cruise for the French fleet, and direct them to a place of safety. I have written to the Council and Navy Board, at Boston, and proposed the same, in case the fleet should take

the eastern coast. I have mentioned this to his Excellency, General Rochambeau, who was so much pleased with it, that he requested I would write, for that he should leave it wholly with me.

This night is spent in mounting a number of guns at advantageous posts at the entrance of the harbour, to make a cross-fire with the ships, &c. There are with the army a number of good engineers, and an exceedingly fine corps of artillery, with a numerous train of field-artillery, and some battering cannon.

I had ordered Colonel Greene's regiment to march immediately for the main army, but, under present appearances, I think it best to detain them a few days. I have ordered them to take post at Butts's Hill, at the north end of the Island, to secure the communication. This has given much satisfaction to General Rochambeau, and I hope will meet with your Excellency's approbation. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Newport, Rhode Island, 22 July, 1780.

SIR,

The enemy are doing what they ought to do. Graves, immediately after having joined Arbuthnot, comes to cruise before us with nine or ten ships of the line, five frigates, and four other small vessels. He moors at present at Block Island, with the object of opposing our designs, and intercepting the second division from France. Our despatch-boat, charged

with letters, and escorted by three frigates, has been obliged to return yesterday, chased by all the enemy's fleet. I see that it will be good to have cruisers at the Capes of Delaware and Chesapeake, to advertise our second convoy, as soon as it shall appear, to debark at the south, or at Boston; the former will be best. I pray my General to transmit this to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, that he may act in consequence.

We are going to try to convey our letters to France in a vessel from one of the ports in the State of Massachusetts. I wait here that part of the Bourbonné which have fortunately debarked at Boston. We have more than six hundred sick, besides one hundred whom the Bourbonné left at Boston. The fleet has more than one thousand sailors, and has not here wherewith to change them, as Graves did at New York. A good month's refreshment will reëstablish the greatest part.

I am, with respect, &c. &c.,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

Totowa, 22 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

In pursuance of the plan, which your Excellency was pleased to adopt, the first and second Pennsylvania brigades, with four pieces of artillery belonging to Colonel Proctor's regiment, and Colonel Moylan's dragoons, took up their line of march on the 20th, at three o'clock, P. M., and arrived, a little in the rear of New Bridge, at nine in the evening. We moved

again at one in the morning, in order to occupy the ground in the vicinity of Fort Lee and the landing opposite King's Bridge, by the dawn of the day; and, agreeably to the inclosed order, we advanced towards Bull's Ferry,—General Irvine, with part of his brigade, along the summit of the mountain, and the first brigade, under Colonel Humpton, with the artillery and Colonel Moylan's horse, on the common road. About ten o'clock, part of the first brigade had reached that place. Colonel Moylan, with the horse, and a detachment of infantry, remained at the fork of the road leading to Paulus Hook and Bergen, to receive the enemy, if they attempted any thing from that quarter.

On reconnoitring the refugee post, near Bull's Ferry, we found it to consist of a block-house, surrounded by an *abatis* and stockade to the perpendicular rocks next to the North River, with a kind of ditch, or parapet, serving as a covered way. By this time we could discover the enemy in motion on York Island, which began to open a prospect of our plan taking full effect. General Irvine was directed to halt in a position from which he could move to any point where the enemy should attempt to land, either in the vicinity of this post or Fort Lee, where the sixth and seventh regiments were previously concealed, with orders to wait the landing of the enemy, and then, at the point of the bayonet, to dispute the pass in the gorge of the mountain, at every expense of blood, until supported by General Irvine, and the remainder of the troops.

The first regiment was posted in a hollow way, on the north side of the block-house, and the tenth in another hollow on the south, with orders to keep up a constant fire into the portholes, to favor the advance

of the artillery, which was covered by the second regiment. When the field-pieces arrived at the medium distance of sixty yards, they commenced a constant fire, which was returned by the enemy, and continued without intermission from eleven until after twelve o'clock. By that time we had expresses that the enemy were embarking their troops from Volun-tine's Hill, at Phillips's Landing. We also saw many vessels and boats moving up with troops from New York, which made it necessary to relinquish a lesser for a much greater object; that is, drawing the enemy over towards the posts already mentioned, and deciding the fortune of the day in the defiles, through which they must pass before they could gain possession of the strong grounds.

In the interim we found that our artillery had made but little impression, although well and gallantly served, the metal not being of sufficient weight to traverse the logs of the block-house; but, when the troops understood that they were to be drawn off, such was the enthusiastic bravery of all ranks of officers and men, that the first regiment, no longer capable of restraint, rather than leave a post in the rear, rushed with impetuosity over the *abalís*, and advanced to the stockades, from which they were with difficulty withdrawn, although they had no means of forcing an entry. The contagion spread to the second; but, by very great efforts of the officers of both regiments, they were at last restrained, not without the loss of some gallant officers wounded and some brave men killed. Happy it was that the ground would not admit of the further advance of the tenth regiment, and that the situation of General Irvine's brigade prevented them from experiencing a loss proportioned to those immediately engaged (as

the same gallant spirit pervaded the whole), which might be a means of frustrating our main object, by incumbering us with too many wounded.

The artillery was, therefore, drawn off, and forwarded towards the wished-for point of action. The killed and wounded were all moved away, except three, that lay dead under the stockades. During this period, Colonel Moylan's horse drove the cattle, &c., from Bergen up towards the Liberty Pole, whilst a detachment of infantry destroyed the sloops and wood-boats at the landing, in which were taken a Captain and mate, with two sailors. Some others were killed whilst attempting to escape by swimming. Having thus effected part of our plan, we pushed forward to oppose the troops from Valentine's Hill that we expected to land at the nearest point to New Bridge. If effected, we were determined to drive them back, or to cut our way through; but in this project we were disappointed; the enemy thought proper to remain in a less hostile position than that of the Jersey shore. We therefore passed the New Bridge, and, by easy degrees, returned to this place about an hour ago.

Inclosed is a copy of the orders of the 20th, together with a return of the killed and wounded, sixty-four in number, among whom are Lieutenants Hammond and Crawford, of the first, and Lieutenant Dehart of the second, all very worthy officers; the latter, mortally wounded.

I cannot attempt to discriminate between officers, regiments, or corps, who, with equal opportunity, would have acted with equal fortitude. Should my conduct, and that of the troops under my command, meet your Excellency's approbation, it will much alleviate the pain I experience in not having it in

my power to carry the whole of the plan into execution, which was only prevented by the most malicious fortune. I have the honor to be, with sincere esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,
ANTHONY WAYNE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 25 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Nothing of consequence has transpired since I had the honor last to write to you. The British fleet continue off the harbour, sometimes at anchor, at other times cruising. Yesterday afternoon I counted twelve sail, principally large ships, at anchor, and four sail of frigates and sloops of war, cruising; the former to the east of Block Island, the latter between that place and Point Judith. Their intention, undoubtedly, is to block up the squadron under the command of Monsieur de Ternay, intercept the expected second division of our allies, cut off all supplies by water, and impede the operations of the campaign; and, I fear, without the arrival of a further naval force, they have laid an embargo on the squadron now here.

The Marquis de Lafayette arrived here the last evening. Universal joy was diffused throughout the camp. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
WILLIAM HEATH.

P. S. The troops, which put into Boston, arrived here last night, by the way of Providence. Inclosed

is a return of the platform plank, at this place, belonging to the public.

Upon the appearance of the British fleet, standing in for this place, I ordered Colonel Greene's regiment, and the recruits for the Rhode Island line, who were under orders to march to the army, to take post at Howland's and Bristol Ferry, Butts's Hill, and the dock where our flat-bottomed boats lie. This gave great satisfaction to Count Rochambeau, who, under present appearances, is very earnest to have them remain a few days longer, for the security of the ferry, flat-bottomed boats, &c. The Marquis is of the same opinion.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 9 o'clock, P M., 25 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

This afternoon the intelligence, contained in the inclosed, came to hand; upon which General Rochambeau immediately made a requisition for two thousand militia. I have called upon Governor Greene for fifteen hundred men, and on Brigadier Godfrey, of the brigade in the county of Bristol, Massachusetts, for eight hundred. General Rochambeau says that in six days he shall be safe, without the assistance of the militia. I have written to the Council of Boston, that, if their militia for reënforcing the army for three months are detached, and not marched, those from the counties of Suffolk, Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol, may march to Tiverton, which will not be greatly out of their way to the place of their destination; and, should Sir Henry Clinton be coming this way, they may answer a good purpose. It will

also be less burdensome to the militia, who, after so great drafts as have been lately made, will think an additional one, in the midst of harvest, almost insurmountable.

If Sir Henry should not come this way, there shall be no needless detention of any of the levies. The Marquis de Lafayette is in sentiment with me in this particular. I hope it will not be disagreeable to your Excellency. It cannot, at any rate, make a detention of more than five or six days. It is with pain that I call on the militia to turn out; but General Rochambeau is so pressing in his application, that he cannot be denied. Indeed, if Sir Henry Clinton has a land force to spare from New York, adequate to the enterprise, I think he never had a more inviting object than the present situation and circumstances of things offer him here. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

P. S. The article of bread will be obtained, I fear, with much difficulty, for the troops that will assemble here.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 26 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

By a variety of intelligence, from various quarters (all which agree) the enemy intend to make an attempt on the fleet and army of our great and good ally at this place. I have called for the neighbouring militia of Massachusetts, and the whole of this

State. I have also requested the Council of Massachusetts to send all the three months' militia this way, except those of the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire. Whilst these are collecting, with the advice of the Marquis, I shall call on Governor Trumbull to send one thousand militia from the nearest towns of Connecticut, to rendezvous at Greenwich. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

P. S. The fleet off the harbour, from their first appearance, have kept nearly the same station, to the eastward of Block Island.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 30 July, 1780.

SIR,

I inclose to your Excellency a letter for M. de Ternay, in which you will see what measures I have taken to fulfil the intentions, which you imparted to me on the 27th instant. I beg you will seal this packet, and send it to his address by the first opportunity.

Congress have put under your orders the frigates, in directing them to come into the Delaware. You will be able to judge, after your arrangements with the Chevalier de Ternay, whether these vessels, or one of them, may not accomplish the commission desired. Their cruise may then be useful to the commerce of the United States. I know not whether M. de Ternay will communicate to them any signals, by

means of which they may approach the coast without danger. Your Excellency may be able, should you think it necessary, to suggest it to him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Newport, 31 July, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

In consequence of intelligence, received yesterday morning from the westward, that the fleet of transports, which were lately in the Sound, and supposed to be coming this way, had sailed towards New York, General Count de Rochambeau expressed his pleasure that the militia, which had arrived and were on their march for his support, except those detached for three months, should return home, I immediately communicated it to them.

Nothing could have exceeded the spirit which has been shown by the militia on this occasion. The hint given by the Count, that he had come to their support, but at that moment stood in need of theirs, instantly fired every breast, and old and young, of all denominations, were determined to rush into the field to his aid. The Count expresses the highest pleasure and satisfaction, as do all the officers on this occasion. The Count wishes to detain the three months' men a few days, to secure the pass at Howland's Ferry. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Verplanck's Point, 3 August, 1780.

SIR,

The more I have thought upon the subject of explaining the reasons and causes of our movements to the army, and through them to the country, the more I am confirmed in my opinion of the propriety and necessity for it.

Your Excellency will consider this is a great movement, and has been very rapid; the march of the army has been very fatiguing; the teams of the country have been impressed, and every kind of property laid hold on, to pave the way to a certain plan of operations. If it is all relinquished, without any explanation, the natural reflections that will arise upon the occasion will be, why has the army been thus harassed without an object; why have the people been dragged from their homes, with their teams, and the public subjected to a most enormous expense; and why has the property of the people been laid hold on by the hand of power, when there appears nothing to warrant these extraordinary measures?

Without some explanations we shall not do justice to ourselves, nor will your Excellency to your own military character. The enterprise was great, the object noble, and the end for which it was undertaken appears to have been partly answered, if not fully so. To explain the reasons for the movement will give the army a high opinion of the confidence you have in their spirit and enterprise, and perfectly reconcile them to all the past fatigues, and to those which may follow, in regaining our former position. It will strike the enemy with the boldness of the design; it will be pleasing to the French army, as a

measure calculated to give the most speedy relief; it will reconcile the country to all the inconveniences they have felt, and prepare their minds for future exertions of a similar nature, in full confidence that the object is worthy the preparation.

Though I am no advocate, in common, for giving reasons, either to the army or the community, for our movements, yet there are cases when substantial advantages can be drawn from it; and when the people's curiosity can be gratified and the public be benefited at the same time, I think it will be justifiable to adopt the measure. It is unnecessary to gasconade highly upon the occasion; but I think we may, with great reason, suppose the enemy's return to be in consequence of our movements, and that gives us the reputation of having saved our allies from an injury, and subjected the enemy to the mortification of having been obliged to relinquish their project.

If the explanation takes place, there will be no inconvenience in our recrossing the river. Without it, I think there will; for, both the army and the country will think all is given up, and there will be no preparations proportionable to the business in contemplation. Your Excellency may remember that Sir Henry Clinton explained his movement up to Stony Point last campaign, after General Wayne took that place. He had not half the reasons for that explanation as you have for this.

I wish your Excellency to determine upon your further operations, as soon as possible, as boards and teams are impressing, collecting, and coming to camp, as fast as possible. If the teams are not likely to be wanted immediately, they had better be discharged without loss of time, as it will save a great ex-

pense, and free the people from no small inconveniences.

Colonel Hay has sent down a considerable quantity of boards to King's Ferry, and more are coming. Mr. Clarke, of Danbury, writes me that he has got an account of one hundred thousand feet, which may be had, but not without great inconvenience to the inhabitants, as they were got to rebuild the houses burnt by the enemy last campaign. There is a great number of impressed teams at King's Ferry, on the other side, which I wish to dismiss, if there is not an immediate necessity for them. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, Verplanck's Point, 5 August, 1780.

SIR,

The time for which I engaged to act in the Quarter-master's department, at the request of the Committee of Congress for Coöperation, is almost expired; and as I cannot exercise the office any longer, consistent with my own safety, I am to request your Excellency will take measures for relieving me, as soon as possible, from the disagreeable predicament I am in. In the mean time I shall be exceedingly obliged to your Excellency for the sense you entertain of my conduct and services since I have been in the department, as you alone are the best judge of the propriety of one and the merit of the other. The business is truly disagreeable and distressing, and has been so for a long time; not-

withstanding, if it had been possible for me to have got through it this campaign, consistently with my own safety and the public good, upon the plan which Congress proposed, I would readily have done it. But, from the knowledge I have of the department, I know it is utterly impossible to follow the system, and answer the demands of the service; and to attempt it, at this critical season, will most assuredly defeat our plan of operations, and bring the army into the greatest distress.

It would be a folly for me to attempt to combat the prejudices of public bodies, with hopes of success. Time alone can convince them that their measures are destructive of their true interest, as well as highly injurious to some of their most faithful servants.

I am sensible my conduct has been viewed by many in a very improper light; and I am persuaded many think the business can be done with more method, and at a less expense, than it has been. I wish it may be the case; but am much mistaken if the nature of the business is capable of more system, or will admit of less expense, if the plan of the war continues on its present scale, and the army on its present footing.

I have endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to enter into the spirit and intention of your Excellency's measures; and if my conduct has not been satisfactory to Government and to yourself, it has been owing to a want of abilities, and not inclination. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Head Quarters, Robinson's House,
6 August, 1780.

DEAR SIR, .

On my arrival at this post, I found every thing thrown into great confusion, by the troops removing from hence, and the militia coming in. Colonel Malcom had ordered returns to be made of the militia, provisions, and stores of every kind, which I expect this morning, and will transmit a copy to your Excellency. I believe a sufficient number of militia have arrived to replace those of this State, who will leave this to-morrow or next day. I am sorry to observe, that there is not one tent for the militia (which are absolutely necessary at the redoubts), and the barracks will not contain more than seven hundred, unless they are crowded, so as to injure their health; and many of them are daily falling sick. This will be delivered your Excellency by Doctor Ledyard, who waits on you to obtain a supply of medicines and stores for the sick, who are numerous, and without fresh provisions or any necessaries; and I am assured by him and Doctor Burnet, that there are not hospital stores in the department sufficient to last the sick one fortnight, nor is there any prospect of obtaining a supply, unless by an application to Congress or Governor Clinton.

The quantity of salted meat at this post, I am informed, is small. It appears to me that the whole ought to be reserved, and the troops fed on fresh provisions. I know not from what quarter we are to expect a supply. I have wrote Colonel Blain on the subject, but believe an order from your Excellency to him will be necessary.

I shall pay the strictest attention to my orders, but cannot flatter myself with effecting as much with raw militia as would be done with an equal number of disciplined troops; and I am very apprehensive that the troops, by being exposed, will become sickly, and desertions follow in consequence. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's obedient, humble servant,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, [7 ?] August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter to Colonel Harrison turns out as I expected before I received your full information. If the whole had been read and attended to, it was impossible to put any other construction on your manner of treating the subject than to convince your correspondent of the absolute necessity of great exertions this campaign, while we had a promising prospect before us, lest, by remissness and delay, we should find our ally, as well as ourselves, embarrassed with greater difficulties than at present; and I very sincerely wish, should this summer pass away without some signal advantage gained on our part, we may not find your conjectures verified in the event.

I have my hopes we shall yet be able to do something important upon the arrival of the French reinforcement, as I presume their fleet will then command the water, without which, I confess, I have no sanguine expectations. With the command of the water, the enterprise may be successful. Mr. Bing-

ham has received a letter from Martinique, informing him the combined fleets fell to leeward on the 5th of July, supposed for Jamaica; thirty-three or thirty-six ships of the line, and twelve thousand troops. They expected a reënforcement of a few thousand troops more. If this account be true, it is probable Jamaica will fall, and that we may have them along our coast.

You are desired, by some late resolutions, to turn your thoughts towards the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, as soon as the operations of the campaign in this quarter have been executed. Gates's and De Kalb's letters represent the distresses of the Southern department in a very gloomy light, as to provisions and equipments. The Virginia recruits, when raised, are ordered to join that army. If this interfere with your plans, you should let us know it, as they will not be ready to march until the beginning of next month. The law passed by the Legislature will probably bring into the field about three thousand. A Colonel or Major Pinckney, of South Carolina, writes Colonel Motte, a Delegate of that State, that the enemy are not more than twenty-five hundred strong at their posts in the country, exclusive of horse, of which they have a large corps, and about eight hundred or one thousand men in Charleston. Of our twenty-five hundred militia, not above fifteen hundred had reached Hillsborough, in North Carolina. But Mr. Jameson, of the Virginia Privy Council, writes us that many of the deserters had been taken up and sent forward to Hillsborough.

had about twelve hundred militia under him. Baylor's and Bland's dragoons nearly equipped, so that if they can get provisions sufficient and forage, which, by this time, it is probable they are furnished

with, they will be in condition to face the enemy, and I hope drive them into the town.

We have been greatly perplexed the last week with General Greene's refusal to act in the office of Quartermaster-General, unless the new system was totally repealed, and he was allowed to conduct it, under your direction, in such manner as he thought most conducive to the public service. Besides, Congress were to request Pettit and Cox to resume their offices.* If General Greene thought the new system wanted amendment, and had pointed out the defect, Congress would have considered the matter, and, I doubt not, would have made the necessary alteration. But the manner of these demands, made in such peremptory terms, at the moment of action, when the campaign was opened, the enemy in the field, and our ally waiting for coöperation, has lessened General Greene not only in the opinion of Congress, but I think, of the public; and I question whether it will terminate with the acceptance of his refusal only.

On Saturday Colonel Pickering was appointed to the office of Quartermaster-General, with the rank of Colonel, and the pay and rations of a Brigadier-General, and to hold his place at the Board of War without pay or right to act, while in the office of Quartermaster-General. This gentleman's integrity, ability, and attention to business will, I hope, not only prevent the evils to be apprehended from a change in so important a department at this time, but will, I hope, be able to reform some of the abuses crept into that business, and lessen the amazing expenditures of the department. He must, if he

* See General Greene's letter to the President of Congress, resigning the office of Quartermaster-General, in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 512.

accepts, have a disagreeable office in the present state of our finance; but we must support him all we can.

The promotion I lately mentioned has not taken place, though if we take up the business I suppose it will be done; as M. is the oldest Colonel, and Gates is the only Major-General belonging to Virginia, and the State has a right to two. But I see no occasion of stirring in it at present, as, if taken up, it must be on the general principle of promotion, and then not only Virginia, but Maryland, and other States, will expect to partake of the same privilege of bringing forward their officers, when, I believe, there are few States whose lines are so full as to justify the promotions. I am, &c.,

JOSEPH JONES.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.

8 August, 1780.

SIR,

I have received the letter which your Excellency has done me the honor to write. It would be very difficult for me to fix a point for my junction with the squadron, which was to follow me when I left the ports of France. I am absolutely ignorant of its force, and the part of America where it ought to make the land. I only know, that the intention of the King was to confide to me a force superior to that of the enemy. He was not ignorant then that Graves was destined to follow me with a strong squadron, and that, after his juncture with Arbuthnot, he would be superior to that he confided to me. Monsieur le Marquis de Lafayette will have told your Excellency all I told him, in private, and in pre-

sence of the Count de Rochambeau, upon this subject.

I see no difficulty in causing the merchant vessels of the second division to enter the Delaware, if the officer who commands it has taken measures, as I did, to make the coast of Chesapeake Bay; but I see much difficulty in making the ships of war enter and come out of that river, with respect to its mouth. As the point for the junction of the two squadrons, I regard Boston as preferable in all respects, since the enemy could not maintain the entrance of the Bay, in the month of September, without exposing themselves to the same inconveniences which made them lose, within two years, a vessel of war in these parts. I write accordingly to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, under your cover, that if the second division arrives in the Chesapeake Bay, it might, at the option of General Washington and of the Count de Rochambeau, make the Evansport vessels enter into the Delaware, and that the vessels of war might afterwards proceed to Boston, taking under their convoy the few ships which are in that river, loaded with flour for Rhode Island. But I observe always to your Excellency, that the point of this division making the land is absolutely unknown to me; that I do not judge that it is equal in force to that of Graves; that if the officer, who commands, has taken measures to arrive at Boston, I shall learn the account with the greatest pleasure.

The English squadron is anchored between Block Island and Long Island, nearest the land. I am, with sincere respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Head Quarters, Robinson's House,
8 August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Colonel Stewart, Commissary-General of Issues, has made a demand on the Commissary at this post for thirty hogsheads of rum. As there are only fifty odd in the magazine, I have desired him to send only fifteen, which will be a present supply for the army; the remainder will be necessary for the use of the garrison. The Commissary informs me that he expects no more; and as large supplies are coming on from Philadelphia, I think the army cannot want.

I wish your Excellency would be kind enough to order Mr. Erskine to send me a map of the country from this place to New York, particularly on the east side of the river, which would be very useful to me. The officers in general, from the State of Massachusetts's Bay, have never been in the service before, and are extremely ignorant of their duty, which throws every thing into confusion; and, in case of an attack on the post, from their inexperience I believe little dependence can be placed on them. The troops are good, and well armed. Would it not be better, Sir, to continue a part or the whole of the New York brigade at this post, whose officers (particularly Colonel Malcom) are well acquainted with the duty, and can be depended on, and the troops have, in general, bad arms and few bayonets?

I am convinced, that the Massachusetts or Hampshire troops will be better in the field, from this circumstance in their arms.

Major Villefranche has surveyed the works at West Point, and informs me that there is a vast deal to do

to complete them; that large quantities of materials, such as timber, plank, boards, stone, &c., will be wanted. Part of the materials are at different places near this post; but I do not find that there are any teams or forage in the department, and, at present, there is no prospect of any being furnished.

I am sorry to trouble your Excellency with so long a list of grievances; and am, very respectfully, your Excellency's

Most obedient and obliged humble servant,
BENEDICT ARNOLD.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.

10 August, 1780.

SIR,

I have received the letter, which your Excellency has done me the honor to write, the 6th of this month, on the subject of the American frigates which may join the squadron of the King of France.

When I shall be equal in force to the enemy, or perhaps superior, and when there shall be any maritime operation corresponding with that which you have premeditated, and which Monsieur the Marquis de Lafayette has imparted to me, those frigates will certainly be very useful to me; but, till then, I think they might be employed most usefully in a cruise to intercept the vessels which go from Charleston to New York. I believe that Admiral Arbuthnot has, in this place here, all his strong frigates.

I propose to your Excellency to have escorted, by those frigates, to the ports of Boston, a vessel loaded with flour by Monsieur Holker for the squadron of the King of France, and which is at present in the

Delaware. It would be necessary, in this case, that they take their route a little large, that they may not fall too near this place, the frigates of Arbuthnot being able to extend their cruises to the Shoals of Nantucket. This Admiral sent me, yesterday morning, a [flag], in order to transmit me some letters from French prisoners, at this very moment at New York. He is anchored at the easternmost point of Long Island. I had sent a vessel, some hours before, to propose to him an exchange.

If you do not want the sloop *Saratoga*, and this vessel is a good sailer, your Excellency could despatch her to St. Domingo. The Marquis de Lafayette would send, by this opportunity, the letter which I had transmitted to him for the Count de Guichen, and which ought to be translated into ciphers by the Chevalier de la Luzerne. I require, conformably to the orders of the King, a reënforcement of some ships from this French Commander. If these arrive by the end of September, I could transport your army to Long Island the beginning of October, and finally decide the fate of America this year. I send to the Chevalier de la Luzerne the signals of recognizance which have been previously addressed to me by the Council of Admiralty at Boston, and which I have adopted. It is necessary that there should be uniformity in those on the whole coast, to avoid confusion. I am, with respect and sincere attachment, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Boston, 11 August, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's favor of the 26th ultimo, covering a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to me. I cannot but hope you have a little misapprehended him, and that it was not his intention to make my exchange depend absolutely on the exchange of the southern army. Did I fully believe this to be his meaning, I should suppose no advantages would result from my meeting Major-General Phillips, while there are any reasons existing in your Excellency's mind, which would make it improper, at this time, to go into a general exchange; but, as I flatter myself he meant only to involve in my exchange that of General Phillips and General Riedesel, I think my meeting General Phillips will accelerate my exchange. I therefore will do myself the pleasure of waiting on your Excellency, on the 10th of September, and hope then to have the honor of your instructions on the business I may have to transact.

I propose to meet General Phillips at Elizabethtown, on the 12th of next month. If your Excellency's permission is necessary, for him to meet me at that place, I wish it might be sent to him. I have inclosed my letter to General Clinton, under a flying seal, which, if agreeable to your Excellency, I wish to have forwarded. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with the highest respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 11 August, 1780.

SIR,

You will doubtless, ere this reaches you, have been informed that Congress have been pleased to appoint me Quartermaster-General. This was so totally unexpected, that it will take me some days yet, before I can get ready to proceed to camp. In the mean time, I shall make some necessary arrangements for conducting the business of the department in this State, and the other States southward of it. The gentlemen concerned in the department with the army, will, I hope, cheerfully continue to exercise the duties of their respective offices until my arrival in camp, which shall be as speedily as possible. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM JAMES BOWDOIN.

Boston, 17 August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday arrived the frigate Alliance, forty days from L'Orient. She has on board two thousand stand of arms, a number of cannon, and a quantity of powder, for the United States. Your Excellency will give such orders concerning them as you think proper; but, with respect to the arms, if there be not an absolute necessity for all of them, the Council would be glad you would allow one thousand of them, with bayonets, to be retained by this State, in lieu

of the like number we have lately furnished you with, as we have none in our magazines.

Doctor Lee came passenger in the Alliance. He tells me the ships and troops that were intended to reënforce the French armament at Newport, remained at Brest when the last post came from thence, just before he sailed; and there were then cruising thirty-two sail of British capital ships before that harbour, where were only twelve sail of the line of French ships; but that there were at Cadiz thirty-six sail, French and Spanish, which it was supposed would proceed to Brest to remove the British and join the French ships there. He was surprised to hear that Admiral Graves was in this part of America, as they apprehended, in France, he had gone with his squadron in another direction.

The Doctor says a great mob, of fifty or sixty thousand men, had appeared in London, and were masters of it three or four days, but had no valuable political object in view. They committed many robberies, destroyed many houses, particularly Lord Mansfield's, and pulled down every jail in London. They were finally quelled by the guards and militia, who killed three or four hundred of them. The Ministry had intercepted several letters from Lord George Gordon, calculated to excite disturbances in Scotland, in consequence of which he had been committed to the Tower.

The Russians and Dutch had agreed to insist, that none of their ships should be searched by British cruisers, and that they would be carriers for any nation whatsoever, which should think proper to employ them. There is no other intelligence of importance.

I have obtained, from a person who came from Halifax about a month ago, a sketch of the fortifica-

tions there, which I inclose for your further information. It would give us great satisfaction, if your Excellency could inform us there is any probability of the allied forces being able to attempt any thing with effect this campaign. I have the honor to be, with the sincerest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
JAMES BOWDOIN.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 18 August, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

The Lieutenant of Monongalia county informs me, that ten men were killed on Friday last, above the forks of Cheat. They were quite off their guard when the Indians attacked them, and made no resistance. The troops are suffering for want of bread, the waters being too low to grind the grain; and I am informed that the pack-horse men have left the service for want of pay, &c.

I take the liberty to inclose the proceedings of the General Court-Martial on the trials of Captain Thomas Beall, Peter Davis, and David Gamble, and shall be happy to receive your directions respecting them. The General Court-Martial has addressed a letter to your Excellency, which is inclosed with the proceedings. I have lately received two letters from the Delaware towns, copies of which I likewise take the liberty to inclose. It appears by the contents, that the Delawares and the Wyandots, and their numerous allies, might be speedily involved in a war against each other, provided we were possessed of the means to reward the Delawares for bringing in Wyandot scalps and prisoners.

The forts, in the new country, were taken by about two hundred white men and seven hundred Indians. Encouraged by their success, it is highly probable they will attempt carrying these garrisons, which, in their present circumstances, to superior numbers must inevitably fall a prey, unless timely supplies can be obtained. But the best exertions in my power shall not be wanting to prevent so fatal an event. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 21 August, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

By Captain Duplantier, who is just arrived from the Delaware towns, I am informed that the British at Detroit treat the French inhabitants with great severity, and that they wish for nothing more than the approach of a body of troops from this place. The Captain adds, that Colonel Clark, with a body of about one thousand men, has actually destroyed the Shawanese town at Chellacoffy, and was in pursuit of the Indians when the runner, who brought the account, came from thence.

I have just received a letter from the Reverend Mr. Heckewelder, and another from Captain John Killbuck, copies of which I take the liberty to inclose. Had I provisions, I should be happy to march against some of the hostile Indian towns. But, unfortunately, I have not more than a day's allowance of bread, and a very little beef, and I cannot yet see a fair prospect of obtaining adequate supplies until

money can be furnished to pay for them. With the most exalted respect and esteem, &c. &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM GOVERNOR RUTLEDGE, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Philadelphia, 27 August, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I fully intended, for several weeks past, to pay my respects in person to your Excellency, but am obliged to deny myself that pleasure, having been detained here much longer than I expected, and being anxious to return to Carolina.

Though I have no doubt that the matter committed to your Excellency, by a resolve of Congress of the 5th instant, has already engaged your attention, and that you will order the most proper plan for effecting so desirable a measure to be carried into execution, as soon as the more immediate object of the present campaign will admit, yet I cannot forbear representing, that the state of South Carolina and Georgia is such as demonstrates the absolute necessity of expelling the enemy from those countries, as speedily as possible; and that this cannot be done without a considerable naval force, and a large number of regular troops. I therefore flatter myself that, as soon as the intended operations against New York shall be terminated, either successfully (as I hope they will be) or by the season's not admitting a continuance of them, or if an attack on that city should not be deemed expedient, your Excellency will send such a force to the southward.

Congress have requested the Minister of France to use his influence to cause the plan of operations

which you may form, or the measures which you may recommend to be undertaken by the forces of their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, in consequence of the resolve above mentioned, to be carried into effect. He is heartily disposed and has promised to do so. Should your Excellency require aid from the French forces in the West Indies, I have good reasons to believe it will be afforded, unless the Commanders there are expressly limited to acting in the islands, which I cannot conceive they are. In that case, I am persuaded that your application to the Court of France would obtain a revocation of such orders, and that his most Christian Majesty would grant any lesser forces which you may require, either from his kingdom or his islands.

Thinking that it is thus in your power, and convinced that it is your earnest wish, to restore peace and safety to the two southernmost States, I hope those blessings will be speedily obtained. A consideration of the difficulty and delay attending the collecting any considerable quantity of provisions, will, I am sure, induce your Excellency to give timely notice of what measures you wish to have established in the Carolinas. I shall take the liberty of transmitting to your Excellency, from time to time, any intelligence which may appear material, and shall be happy to hear from you, that the prospect of complete relief to my distressed country is not far distant. I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect, &c.,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Hillsborough, 30 August, 1780.

SIR,

My public letter to Congress has surely been transmitted to your Excellency. Since then, I have been able to collect authentic returns of the killed, wounded, and missing of the officers of the Maryland line, Delaware regiment, artillerists, and those of the legion under Colonel Armand. They are inclosed. The militia broke so early in the day, and scattered in so many directions upon their retreat, that very few have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

By the firmness and bravery of the Continental troops, the victory is far from bloodless on the part of the foe; they having upwards of five hundred men, with officers in proportion, killed and wounded. I do not think Lord Cornwallis will be able to reap any advantage of consequence from his victory, as this State seems animated to reinstate and support the army. Virginia, I am confident, will not be less patriotic. By the joint exertions of these two States, there is good reason to hope that, should the events of the campaign be prosperous to your Excellency, all South Carolina might be again recovered. Lord Cornwallis remained with his army at Camden, when I received the last accounts from thence. I am cantoning ours at Salisbury, Guilford, Hillsborough, and Cross Creek. The Marylanders and artillerists, with the general hospital, will be here; the cavalry near Cross Creek, and the militia to the westward. This is absolutely necessary, as we have no magazine of provisions, and are only supplied from hand to mouth. Two days after the action of the 16th, fortune seem-

ed determined to continue to distress us; for Colonel Sumpter, having marched near forty miles up the river Wateree, halted with the wagons and prisoners he had taken the 15th; by some indiscretion the men were surprised, cut off from their arms, the whole routed, and the wagons and prisoners retaken.

What encouragement the numerous disaffected in this State may give Lord Cornwallis to advance further into the country, I cannot yet say. Colonel Sumpter, since his surprise and defeat upon the west side of the Wateree, has reinstated and increased his corps to upwards of one thousand men. I have directed him to continue to harass the enemy upon that side. Lord Cornwallis will therefore be cautious how he makes any considerable movement to the eastward, while this corps remains in force upon his left flank, and the main body is, in a manner, cañtoned in his front. Anxious for the public good, I shall continue my unwearied endeavours to stop the progress of the enemy, to reinstate our affairs, to recommence an offensive war, and recover all our losses in the Southern States. But, if being unfortunate is solely reason sufficient for removing me from command, I shall most cheerfully submit to the orders of Congress, and resign an office few Generals would be anxious to possess, and where the utmost skill and fortitude are subject to be baffled by the difficulties which must for a time surround the Chief in command here. That your Excellency may meet with no such difficulties; that your road to fame and fortune may be smooth and easy, is the sincere wish of, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

P. S. Your commands, in respect to the Virginia line, shall be exactly and faithfully obeyed.

PETITION FROM BEZA WOODWARD AND OTHERS.

August 30, 1780.

To his Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States, in North America, humbly sheweth

The petition of the principal inhabitants on Connecticut River, on both sides, and northward of Charlestown, met in Convention, at Dresden, on the New Hampshire Grants, August 30th, A. D. 1780;—

That the union of Canada with the United States is, in our opinion, of the greatest importance to them, for the following reasons, namely;—

There is but one seaport in that country which we shall ever have need to defend; yet good water-carriage for near two thousand miles, stretching itself, in a circular manner, round the thirteen United States, through an excellent country of land, great part of which is inhabited by savages, whose fur and skin trade produces to our enemies an annual profit which is immense.

The annual produce of wheat in that country, for exportation, is very great, by which the British armies in America receive essential advantage. The capture of that country will be a leading step towards securing to the United States the profits of the fish, oil, &c., procured at and near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which would be a greatly beneficial acquisition. While they hold possession of Canada, our frontiers must be very extensive, and the savages at their command; and, we had almost said, the enemy destroy and take yearly from the frontiers bordering on Canada as much in value as the cost of reducing and holding that country. We are sure the defence

of our frontiers costs more. The securing that country in our interest will be the only effectual means to enable us to secure those of Ohio and Mississippi, both on account of obtaining in that way the interest of the savages in our favor, and as the conveyance for the enemy (while they hold possession of Canada) of men, ammunition, and provisions to those parts, is not only as easy, but more expeditious and safe, than by the Gulf of Mexico; and, in our opinion, those countries cannot otherwise be effectually secured.

By obtaining Canada, we add to our force thirty thousand fighting men, and destroy the efficacy of the bill passed in the British Parliament, in the year 1774, for extending the Province of Quebec, which includes the Province of Maine, and great part of New Hampshire, these Grants, &c.; the establishment of which is, without doubt, the main object of the enemy in taking and holding possessions at Penobscot, and within the extent of which the United States have not a single fortress to cover their claim in opposition to that of the British. In short, that bill is so extensive, that, should it be established, the United States would have little or nothing left worth contending for; and we see not how it can be effectually destroyed but by an union of Canada with them. The body of inhabitants in that country are desirous of such union; and unless it can be brought about speedily, by sending a force into Canada, they will be under necessity to take an active part against us, which they have hitherto avoided.

The whole force of Britain now in arms in Canada, at all their posts, from Quebec to Detroit, including one thousand five hundred Tories and Indians (who are continually roving and destroying our frontiers), does not exceed five thousand men. One thousand

are stationed in the district of Montreal, and six hundred of the rovers have that district for their headquarters. The communication from the settlements on this river to St. Charles, on Chamblee River, is easy; the road already opened more than half the way; the rest may be opened at very little expense, and the whole will be very good; the distance about one hundred miles. A good Commander, with a few Continental troops, in addition to such volunteers as may be raised on these Grants and in the New England States, with a suitable quantity of arms and ammunition to furnish those Canadians who are now eager for such an expedition, and will at once join us on the arrival of an army there, will easily take possession of and keep the district of Montreal; and, that being secured, the country above, even to and beyond the western Lakes, must soon submit to the United States.

Your petitioners are confident that fifteen hundred men from these Grants will turn out, if called upon, to assist in taking possession of that country. They can and will cheerfully furnish five hundred horses, one hundred teams, and ten thousand bushels of wheat, and more if necessary; also such other grain as may be wanted, on the credit of the Continent, from the district of country betwixt the heights on the two sides of Connecticut River, and north of the Massachusetts Bay, the inhabitants of which (more than five thousand families) are now chiefly obliged to hold the sword in one hand and tools for husbandry in the other, and probably must continue so to do till that country is reduced, unless we have a large Continental force continually supported here, to defend us from their ravages, as our frontier is very extensive.

We therefore humbly pray, that your Excellency will be pleased to recommend to Congress, that, by the middle of September next, or as soon as possible, a party, under a suitable Commander, be sent on the said enterprise, and a recommendation to the people in this country and the New England States for volunteers to join their force in the expedition; and that we make ready necessary provisions, which we shall cheerfully comply with, to the utmost of our power.

And, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Per order of the Convention,

BEZA WOODWARD, *Clerk.*

FROM JOHN NIXON AND GEORGE CLYMER.

Philadelphia, August, 1789.

SIR,

A letter from your Excellency to Messrs. Meredith and Barclay, at Trenton, has been by those gentlemen handed to us, as best able to give the necessary information respecting some of those subjects of inquiry on which it turns. We perceive from it, that considerable dependence is placed upon the Pennsylvania Bank for keeping the army supplied with provisions; but how far this dependence should justly go, your Excellency will be best able to judge when we shall have laid before you a state of its affairs.

The groundwork was a deposit of money arising from subscription. This subscription is about eleven hundred thousand pounds, Continental currency, of which we are now in the receipt of two payments, of ten per cent. each. But what we principally rested on, was that convenience the trading people would

find in lodging their money in the Bank, taking our notes payable on demand, by which, as the notes might be expected to have a free and continued circulation, we should have the command of a vast fund for our purchases. From these two sources of supply we have, as yet, drawn but about four hundred thousand pounds, with a well-grounded confidence, however, that the production of the latter will be proportionably greater the longer it remains open. Part of this amount, agreeably to the prudential rules of similar institutions, it was necessary to reserve in our hands; with the remainder we should have proceeded in the purchases of flour, had any been at market (which, since the harvest, has not been the case), but for the attention we thought ourselves obliged to show to the requisition for tents from the Committee of Congress with the army, who informed us they were of still more indispensable necessity than flour. Of these, Mr. Francis, the factor of the Bank, has purchased materials for five or six hundred, which he has directed to be made up, and will forward to the army. We shall, however, in consequence of your Excellency's letter, desist from further purchases in this article, and resume our original design, as flour can be obtained; but as to the daily or weekly quantities, we shall be able to supply, we can have no certain answer.

On the whole our sentiments are, that it will be proper to consider the Bank rather as coming in aid of the ordinary means of supply, than as being in itself equal to any great effect without them; and that it will not, by any means, supersede the necessity of any one of them. But, though we cannot venture to say what degree of support this establishment may receive from the public, we can assure

your Excellency, that there is the best disposition in all those who have the conduct of it, to extend its means, and make it as extensively useful as possible.

We are, &c., &c..

JOHN NIXON.

GEORGE CLYMER.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 3 September, 1780.

SIR,

As I know the anxieties you must have felt since the late misfortune to the south, and our later accounts have not been quite so unfavorable as the first, I take the liberty of inclosing you a state of this unlucky affair, extracted from letters from General Gates, General Stevens, and Governor Nash, and taken, as to some circumstances, from an officer who was in the action.

Another army is collecting. This amounted, on the 23d ultimo, to between four and five thousand men, consisting of about five hundred Maryland regulars, a few of Harrison's artillery, and Porterfield's corps, Armand's legion, such of the fugitive militia as had been reclaimed, and about three thousand North Carolina militia, newly embodied. We are told they will increase these to eight thousand. Our new recruits will rendezvous in this State between the 10th and 25th instant. We are calling out two thousand militia, who I think, however, will not be got to Hillsborough till the 25th of October. About three hundred and fifty regulars marched from Chesterfield a week ago. Fifty march to-morrow, and there will be one hundred or one hundred and fifty more from that post, when they can be cleared of the hospital. This

is as good a view as I can give you of the force we are endeavouring to collect. But they are unarmed. Almost the whole small arms seem to have been lost in the late rout. There are here, on their way southward, three thousand stand of arms, sent by Congress, and we have a few still remaining in our magazine. I have written pressingly, as the subject well deserves, to Congress, to send us, immediately, supplies, and to think of forming a magazine here, that, in case of another disaster, we may not be left without all means of opposition.

I inclosed to your Excellency, some time ago, a resolution of Assembly, instructing us to send a quantity of tobacco to New York for the relief of our officers there, and asking the favor of you to obtain permission. Having received no answer, I fear my letter or your answer has miscarried. I therefore now take the liberty of repeating my application to you. I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect and esteem, &c., &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Hillsborough, 3 September, 1780.

SIR,

I had, the day before yesterday, the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter, dated the 8th of August, from Orangetown. It gave me infinite satisfaction to find you had baffled Sir Harry Clinton's designs, and was, to all appearance, in so prosperous a situation. Heaven grant you the greatest honor and success!

As to the situation of affairs here, since my last

letter to your Excellency of the 30th ultimo, I can only say no considerable alteration has taken place, the enemy remaining still, and the disaffected doing nothing of consequence to disturb us. Fourteen hundred of the second draft of the militia of this State are marched to cover Salisbury, and the country from thence to Charlotte, where Colonel Sumpter has a command, which occasionally acts upon the west side of the Wateree, and has hitherto given such a jealousy to the British in Camden as to keep them at home. Three hundred Virginia riflemen, under Colonel Campbell, and militia from the back counties, are marching to the east bank of the Yadkin, at the ford; and General Stevens, with what have not run home, of the other Virginia militia, is at Guilford Court-House. The Maryland division and the artillery are here, to be refitted; the former will be put into one strong regiment, with a good light infantry company, under Colonel Williams. The rest of the officers will be sent immediately to Maryland, for the purpose directed by your Excellency in your letter to the Baron de Kalb, of the 27th June, which came to my hands only yesterday, from Richmond, in Virginia. General Muhlenberg acquaints me that near five hundred regulars are upon their march from Petersburg to this place; these, with the Marylanders above-mentioned, will make us stronger in Continental troops than I was before the action. The cavalry, under the Colonels White and Washington and Major Nelson, are not quite equipped, so as to be able to march to Rock Fish, in the neighbourhood of Cross Creek, as I directed; but I hope they will soon be in a condition to obey my orders.

Colonel Dubuysson, Aid-de-camp to the Baron de

Kalb, a most amiable young officer, will soon wait upon your Excellency; he was wounded and taken, but Lord Cornwallis has permitted him to go to Philadelphia, on parole. All the Baron's baggage and papers are saved; they are delivered to Colonel Dubuysson, who will be responsible for them. Too much honor cannot be paid by Congress to the memory of the Baron de Kalb; he was every thing an excellent officer should be, and, in the cause of the United States, has sacrificed his life.

If I can yet render good service to the United States, it will be necessary it should be seen that I have the support of Congress and your Excellency; otherwise some men may think they please my superiors by blaming me, and thus recommend themselves to favor. But you, Sir, will be too generous to lend an ear to such men, if such there be, and will show your greatness of soul rather by protecting, than slighting, the unfortunate. If, on the contrary, I am not supported, and countenance is given to every one who will speak disrespectfully of me, it will be better for Congress to remove me at once from a command where I shall be unable to render them any good service. This, Sir, I submit to your candor and honor, and shall cheerfully await the decision of my superiors. With the warmest wishes for your prosperity, and the sincerest sentiments of esteem and regard, I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
HORATIO GATES.

P. S. Inclosed are two letters of Lord Rawdon, found at the house of Rugely, thirteen miles from Camden, to whom they are directed; which will show

your Excellency what dark schemes our enemies fall upon, in order to effect their nefarious purposes.*

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 5 September, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Yesterday, the Indians killed two men, of the frontier inhabitants, on Robeson's Run, in this county (Youghiogania), and fired at two soldiers who were taking some stores in a canoe from hence to Fort Henry. One of them is wounded, but neither of them fell into the hands of the enemy. I would have sent a party to pursue the Indians, but I have no provisions left, nor do I see any prospect of an adequate supply, as the drought still continues, and we have neither money nor credit to make purchases.

Colonel Clark has lately destroyed two of the Shawanese towns, and killed six men and one woman, and is returned to the Falls. If a sufficient quantity of provisions can be obtained, I will yet visit the Wyandots by the 1st of November; and I believe the country will be unanimous in joining me upon an expedition.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

* Lord Rawdon's letters were published, and they produced a strong sensation in the public mind. One of them may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 554; and the other in Almon's *Remembrancer*, Vol. XI. p. 156.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 6 September, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your favor of the 13th ultimo, upon the subject of a report respecting a certain gentleman, and thank you for the freedom and candid manner of your communications. The resentment, discovered against the gentleman alluded to, began to subside before your letter came to hand; and though for some time it was occasionally mentioned in conversation, it has lately died away, and will, I expect, not be revived. The report of the Committee not only accepted his resignation, but went further; and, I believe, had it been then determined, the gentleman would have been informed his services in the line of the army would have been dispensed with, that he might have leisure to attend to the settlement of his accounts. Had this step been taken, it is probable a resignation would have ensued, and perhaps a public discussion in the papers, which would have produced no good; and, upon the whole, I am well pleased the matter was carried no farther than it has been.

But, unacquainted as I am with antecedent circumstances, and judging from what was before me, my opinion was, the gentleman was justly reprehensible for the manner of his conduct as a servant of the public employed in an important office, or as a citizen embarked in the common cause of America. The amazing sums of money gone into that department, under his superintendence, about eighty millions, and, it is said, about thirty millions unpaid, the whole of which is unaccounted for, has excited uneasiness not only in this body, but the people at large, who call

out for a settlement of the public accounts; and although repeated endeavours have been used to bring the officers in this great department of the army to account, none have been rendered, nor any likelihood of bringing them to a settlement. The embezzlement and waste of public property, in these departments, have greatly contributed to enhance our debt and depreciate the currency; and these abuses demand inquiry and punishment. But I see no fair prospect of obtaining satisfaction for past transgressions, and shall be happy to find we shall be able to avoid the like practices in future. A reform, or an attempt to reform, seemed absolutely necessary for the satisfaction of the public; and, although the new system was pronounced a physical impossibility in execution, others, who have served long in the army, and were of the Committee that made the alterations, entertained a contrary opinion; and they affirm the gentleman now in office, if he can be supported with money, can fully carry the new system into execution.

In short, I have seen some, and been told of so many abuses in the Quarter-master's, Commissary's, and Medical departments, in the course of the last two years, that I candidly confess I feel a degree of resentment against the conduct of many in those departments, bordering on prejudice so nearly, that I have resolved to condemn no person, even in opinion, without sure proof of delinquency, lest I should injure the character of some honest man in the general censure, which, unhappily, is but too prevalent.

What I feared for some time is at length but too evident, that our designs against New York must wait for more favorable circumstances to attempt carrying them into execution. Perhaps something may, in the course of the winter, be done at the

south, should we be in a situation to recover our losses there, and be in time provided with a well-appointed regular army, and magazine of provisions laid up. It is to be hoped we shall, in the spring, before the enemy can be reënforced and obtain supplies, be in condition to act offensively against New York. Your letters of the 20th of last month, and of the 27th, to the States, are before a Committee, and will, in a day or two, be reported upon, as to flour and meat. The great objects of drawing forth, in time, a competent regular army, and laying up magazines, will soon come in, and I hope soon go through Congress, that the several States may proceed to make the necessary provisions. I shall leave this place on Thursday for Virginia, and mean to attend our next session of Assembly, in hopes of promoting a cession, on the part of the State, of their claim to the lands north-west of the Ohio, to the United States, which will be recommended to all the States having unappropriated western territory, for the purpose of completing the Confederation. I shall be glad to hear from you while there, upon any matters that may occur and you shall think proper to communicate.

With great esteem, I am, &c.,
JOSEPH JONES.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Dobbs's Ferry, 11 September, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday, I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 7th, and am very happy to hear such favorable accounts from the southward. I hope

our affairs in that quarter will soon wear a more pleasing aspect than ever.

Colonel Sheldon complains to me that his horses are much worn down; and the inhabitants of Westchester complain, that the country is not sufficiently guarded against the enemy. I have, therefore, sent Colonel Hay fifty men from West Point, as more eligible than taking them from the lines. Mr. Stephens informs me that there are one hundred hogsheads of rum at Springfield, but that teams cannot be procured to bring it on.

I came here this morning, in order to establish signals, to be observed in case the enemy came up the river; to give some directions respecting the guard-boats; and to have a beacon fixed upon the mountain, about five miles south of King's Ferry, which will be necessary to alarm the country. The one fixed there formerly has been destroyed.

There are some cannon at West Point, which are of little service, except for signal-guns. I propose sending two of them to Colonel Gouvion, for that purpose, if agreeable to your Excellency. A supply of cattle, for some days, had arrived at West Point before I left it. I am informed that considerable numbers have been crossed at King's Ferry. I am in hopes the army will be better supplied in future.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.*

* The 11th of September was the day, which had been agreed upon between Arnold and André for an interview at Dobbs's Ferry, to mature the treasonable project of delivering West Point into the possession of the enemy. Arnold went down the river in his barge, for that object, but, by some accident, the interview was defeated. Washington's head-quarters were but a few miles from Dobbs's Ferry, in Bergen county, New Jersey. As Arnold's passage down the river, and return to West Point, could not escape observation, he wrote the above letter, as

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Head-Quarters, Robinson's House,
12 September, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Last night, I had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of yesterday, inclosing a copy of a Council of War, held the 6th. I will endeavour, agreeably to your Excellency's request, to transmit my opinion on the matters submitted, by the time required. I sincerely wish the situation of our affairs would admit my giving it with more decision than I am able to do at present.

The order, contained in the postscript of your Excellency's letter of the 7th, to send the eight bargemen of Colonel Putnam's regiment to join their regiment, I conceive to be on a supposition of their being idle at West Point. I beg leave to observe, that they are now employed as my bargemen; that all the militia oarsmen had, previous to the receipt of the order, been drafted, and sent to different commands, at King's Ferry and elsewhere, so that it is out of my power to procure a proper crew for my barge; for which reasons I have thought proper to detain them until I receive your Excellency's further orders on the subject.

I take the liberty of inclosing extracts of a letter from Colonel Hay, of the 9th, respecting flour, &c. I sincerely wish he may succeed in his endeavours to procure flour (of which I am very doubtful) in the quantities he has requested, as I believe the requisi-

signing plausible reasons, for the purpose of removing any suspicions that might arise as to his real designs. Sparks's Life and Treason of Arnold, p. 181.

tion larger than (when all others are answered) the State can comply with.

About thirty bateau-men, mentioned in Colonel Hay's letter, were sent down with Captain Denny to King's Ferry. As, in case of an evacuation of these posts, Colonel Livingston's garrison, with the troops sent down, will be sufficient to man the bateaux, I think it will be best to order the bateau-men to be sent to Fishkill. Your Excellency's general orders of the 28th and 30th ultimo, from the Adjutant-General, were received last evening, and published in my orders of this day.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

FROM COLONEL SHELTON.

Lower Salem, 12 September, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

In your favor of the 10th instant, you desired to know, through what channel I received Mr. Anderson's letter. It was by a flag that came to our lines, and forwarded to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson. It came to me sealed. The person, so often mentioned, has returned from New York, where he was detained ten days before he could obtain permission to return. He was not suffered to leave his quarters, unless escorted by some person appointed by the Commanding Officer for that purpose; by which means he had no opportunity of gaining any intelligence of consequence. He will be at your quarters within a few days. His name is Elijah Hunter. General Parsons had not arrived at North Castle yesterday at

twelve o'clock. I am to inform you that I have been in arrest two or three days, on a complaint exhibited to head-quarters by a villain by the name of Darius Stoddard, for defrauding the public, together with sundry other charges.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ELISHA SHELDON.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 14 September, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 4th of July, and cannot avoid feeling most sensibly the neglect or want of resources, to enable your Excellency, and those who have the honor of commanding under you, to act offensively against the enemy. I am happy, however, to find that our good allies afford us aid, and have a happy presage that, with the smiles of divine Providence, your Excellency will be enabled to drive the enemy out of our country.

The French inhabitants at Detroit are much in our interest, and wish most heartily to see an American force approaching. I really believe that twelve hundred well-appointed men would carry that place without great difficulty, and I wish for nothing more, when circumstances will admit, than the honor of making the attempt. The whole garrison, with sergeants to lead them, came to my quarters, a few days ago, to represent that they had not received any bread for five days together. Their conduct was civil and respectful, and, upon being told that every possible exertion was making to prevent their further suffering, they retired in good order to their quarters.

I make use of every fair method, and sometimes a little compulsion, to obtain a temporary supply. But, with my best endeavours, I am very apprehensive we shall be great sufferers before your requisitions are complied with. Both Gamble and Davis, who were under sentence of death, and who well deserved their fate, have been suffered to make their escape out of the guard-house, although they were ironed on hands and feet. I ordered the officers, who commanded the guards, under arrest for neglect of duty. One of them is tried and acquitted; the other remains to be tried. Colonel Gibson was appointed President of the General Court-Martial, ordered by your Excellency, and the same court remains until it is your pleasure to dissolve it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. I have taken the liberty to inclose an extract from a letter I lately received from the Reverend Mr. Heckewelder. Two Indians, who were sent from the Moravian towns, with messages to Sandusky, report that almost all the Wyandot party, consisting of thirty old warriors, were killed and wounded by the party sent to attack them.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

14 September, 1780.

SIR,

In answer to your Excellency's questions, proposed to the Council of General Officers on the 6th instant, I beg leave to observe that, from the uncertainty of

the arrival of the second division of the French fleet, as well as of their force, and from the fluctuating situation of our affairs, which may be totally changed in a short time, by a variety of circumstances which may happen, it appears to me extremely difficult to determine, with any degree of precision, the line of conduct proper to be observed.

If the second division of the French fleet may be soon expected, and their force, of which I am ignorant, will give us a decided superiority over the enemy as well by land as sea, I am of opinion every necessary preparation and disposition should be made to attack New York, provided we have a sufficiency of ammunition and military stores, and there is a prospect of the army (when collected) being supplied with provision (the former I much doubt). But if there is not good reason to suppose the second division of the French fleet, with a force superior to that of the enemy, will arrive in the course of a month, I am of opinion no offensive operations can, with prudence, be undertaken this fall against New York; in which case, it is possible the enemy will detail a part of their force in New York to join those in South Carolina, or to coöperate with those in Virginia or Maryland.

I am, therefore, of opinion, that the Pennsylvania line, which I suppose to amount to twenty-five hundred or three thousand men, should hold themselves in readiness to march; and if the same division of the French fleet does not arrive by the 1st of October, that then the Pennsylvania line should march to the relief of the Southern States, who, with the aid of so formidable a regular force here, if they do their duty, will be able to repel the enemy in that quarter; and, if the French fleet should arrive too late to

operate against New York, South Carolina may be an object worthy their attention.

Without a decided superiority by sea, I am of opinion no offensive operations against the enemy can, with prudence, be undertaken this fall; and, it is to be hoped, that the States, by this time, are convinced of the necessity of immediately raising an army during the war, and that they will, without loss of time, take future measures for that purpose. I should suppose the Pennsylvania line might be replaced by some of the troops at Rhode Island, before the time is expired for which the militia are called out.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

FROM JOHN MATHEWS, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 15 September, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 9th instant, by Doctor Craik, two days ago. There is a new arrangement for the Medical department, now before Congress, and nearly completed, by which there will be a very great reduction of officers. By the new system, there will be fifteen principal officers to be elected by Congress, which, I apprehend, will be but too much influenced by that spirit which has given a well-grounded alarm to the gentlemen concerned. Evidently to evince how far such a disposition has already operated, the new Quartermaster-General is allowed to hold his commission at the Board of War, in direct violation of a law of Congress, and which has been uniformly practised upon, except in a few instances of no importance. But to

suffer a man to hold two commissions, of the first consequence under the United States, savors so strongly of an outrageous partiality, that I shall be surprised at nothing that may hereafter happen.

I have the pleasure of being acquainted with most of the gentlemen mentioned by your Excellency, and know their worth, and no endeavours shall be wanting, on my part, to promote their reëstablishment; but I fear it will not be in my power to do them much service, for I find there is a decided party formed against the Committee that were at camp, which I have reason seriously to dread will be productive of no good to our public affairs. I owe much to the public, but still I owe something to myself. I can never tamely suffer a set of miscreants to triumph over me with impunity. Regardless of our characters, as members of their own body, I find we are to be considered as Quarter-masters, &c., and liable to equal insults, without the least pretensions to call such conduct in question. But I can assure them they will find me of a temper by no means calculated to answer their newfangled dogmas.

Although I had heard a good deal, and seen something, of the rancor of these demagogues, yet I never imagined it had risen to that height I was made to feel it had done, on my resuming my seat in Congress. I took the first opportunity of going very largely into the state of our affairs, in order to found some propositions which I made; but, without allowing them to be worthy of a commitment, much less of their consideration, they were, in the lump, rejected. However, I have this consolation, to reflect they were approved by those, whose disinterestedness and judgment I have the best opinion of. Such an insult I never saw offered to any member of Congress

before. It shows such a determined and premeditated prejudice, as must inevitably lay me under the necessity of doing what I would wish most earnestly to avoid.

I beg your pardon, Sir, for detaining you so long on a subject relative to myself. But as my plan, above mentioned, was for the establishment of a permanent army and the means of supporting the war, I thought it a subject you were so much interested in, that it would not be unacceptable to you to know the result of my endeavours, and how little prospect I have of being farther useful to this end; for, I suppose, any future propositions of mine will be immediately exploded, "as too strongly tinctured with those *army principles* which I had imbibed whilst with them." I cannot but think it hard that a man, who wishes to be useful, should be thus unjustly precluded from being so. However, I know the rectitude of my intentions, and can, at all times, retire to my own bosom for my justification; and whilst that monitor supports me, I shall continue to act my part, regardless of every contentious spirit.

Your Excellency's letter of the 20th ultimo has now been twenty-four days in the hands of a Committee. I have repeatedly called for a report from them; but, by what I can find, little or nothing has been yet done upon it. This does not at all surprise me; and, I dare say, by the time the Committee and Congress have done with it, the time will arrive when the army ought to be in the field. This ruinous delay I wanted to prevent, by Congress taking up my propositions in the first instance; but, by their not doing it, I may readily conclude it militated too much against the plan they have in contemplation, and therefore further conclude it will not be such a

one as will, in its operation, be effectual. This may look like arrogating too much to myself; but the event will prove whether I am right or not.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN MATHEWS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD.

Head-Quarters, Robinson's House, 16 September, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Last evening, I was honored with your Excellency's favor of the 14th. I have given orders for the guard requested, as also to the Quarter-master to furnish forage at Mr. Birdsall's for the number of horses mentioned in your Excellency's letter.

My answers to the questions proposed by your Excellency to the Council of War I will do myself the honor to deliver in person.

I am, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.*

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 17 September, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have this moment received intelligence, that the enemy from Detroit intend paying a visit to this

* Two days after the date of this letter, Arnold met Washington at King's Ferry, and remained with him over night at Fishkill. Washington was on his way to meet Count Rochambeau, at Hartford. Arnold joined the enemy on the 25th of September, and this is the last letter written by him to Washington before that event. Many particulars on this subject may be seen in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. pp. 520-552; and a full narrative, in Sparks's Life and Treason of Arnold, p. 162 *et seqq.*

frontier. Major Lanctot has wrote me in French, and I take the liberty to inclose a copy of the translation. The Delaware runners add, that a party of twenty Indian warriors have been discovered, about six days ago, marching towards these settlements, and that a large party of Senecas may soon be expected down the Alleghany River.

Last week seven persons were killed and taken by the savages, in an interior settlement on Ten Mile Creek. As no supply of goods has yet been sent for the Delaware Indians, agreeably to treaty, I conceive they will be compelled to make terms with the British, or perish; and next spring we shall have a general Indian war.

If I had a sufficient number of men, and a supply of provisions, I should be happy to meet the enemy, before they reach the posts or settlements; but I see no method, but force, to obtain it, and the mills cannot grind for want of water.

Should this intelligence prove true (and I have no reason to doubt it), I will do all I can to oppose the designs of the enemy; but my regular force is very small, and the inhabitants will be in the greatest dread imaginable. Indeed, I expect they think more of flight than resistance.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. The Delaware messengers say, that Captain McIntyre's party killed eighteen or nineteen of the Wyandots that were crossing the Ohio, as mentioned in a former letter.

FROM JAMES DUANE, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 19 September, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am to acknowledge the honor of your Excellency's favor of the 9th instant, on the subject of the Hospital department. Your solicitude that gentlemen of distinguished merit should be employed, is a continued proof of your attention to the public good; and those you particularize will not fail of being supported.

We are deeply engaged on the subjects of your Excellency's several letters. Considerable progress is made in that which is the principal, the raising a permanent army. Congress unite in sentiment, that it is essential; that it is the surest and the only means of producing an honorable peace. To render it practicable and certain, is the difficulty. There is, in my mind, no question but that it will be submitted for your opinion before it becomes conclusive.

I wish it was in my power to communicate agreeable events, to counterbalance our southern misfortunes. The weight of them daily diminishes, by a comparison of facts with the hasty information of the Commanding Officer of the detachment. The loss, however, of artillery and baggage, and, above all, of small arms, must be severely felt; and the precipitate flight of the militia expose us to insult, after every alleviation. Of one comfort we cannot be deprived; our regular troops have acquired unfading glory.

I find, with great satisfaction, that the Legislature of New York have fallen in with the view of the eastern Convention, and particularly to strengthen the

hands of Congress, and enable them to enforce their decisions. We can never manage the public interests with success, till this disposition becomes general; nor can any thing else, under the Divine blessing, be necessary to give us a decided superiority over our enemies. We have now obtained military knowledge in an eminent degree; we have internal resources, and reputation abroad; we have a great and respectable ally. Of what, then, are we destitute, but vigor and confidence in government, and public spirit in individuals?

I shall be happy to be honored with a line, after your interview at Hartford, if your leisure admits. I hope it will prove some relaxation from the severe and anxious cares, which have fallen to your share too long, and with too much weight. Permit me to add, that I am, with every sentiment of the most affectionate attachment, &c.

JAMES DUANE.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 23 September, 1780.

SIR,

I yesterday forwarded to you a letter from Colonel Wood, informing you of his situation. That post has been, for some time past, pretty regularly supplied, and I hope will continue so to be for some time to come. A person, whose punctuality can be relied on, offers to contract for victualling it. If we can agree on terms, and the Assembly will strengthen our hands sufficiently, we think to adopt that method, as the only one to be relied on with certainty. I have heard it hinted that Colonel Wood thinks of quitting

that post. I should be exceedingly sorry, indeed, were he to do it. He has given, to those under his charge, the most perfect satisfaction, and, at the same time, used all the cautions which the nature of his charge has required. It is principally owing to his prudence and good temper, that the late difficulties have been passed over, almost without a murmur. Any influence which your Excellency shall think proper to use for retaining him in his present situation, will promote the public good, and have great tendency to keep up a desirable harmony with the officers of that corps.

Our new levies are rendezvousing very generally. Colonel Harrison was uneasy at having none of them assigned to his corps of artillery, who have very much distinguished themselves in the late unfortunate action, and are reduced almost to nothing. We happened to have about one hundred drafts raised in the last year, and never called out and sent on duty by their County Lieutenants, whom we have collected and are collecting. We think to deliver these to Colonel Harrison; they are to serve eighteen months from the time of rendezvous.

The numbers of regulars and militia, ordered from this State into the southern service, are about seven thousand. I trust we may count, that five thousand five hundred will actually proceed; but we have arms for three thousand only. If, therefore, we do not speedily receive a supply from Congress, we must countermand a proper number of these troops. Besides this supply, there should certainly be a magazine laid in here, to provide against a general loss as well as daily waste. When we deliver out those now in our magazine, we shall have sent seven thousand stand of our own into the southern service, in

the course of this summer. We are still more destitute of clothing, tents, and wagons for our troops. The southern army suffers for provision, which we could plentifully supply were it possible to find means of transportation. Despairing of this, we directed very considerable quantities, collected on the navigable waters, to be sent northwardly by the Quartermaster; this he is now doing, slowly however.

Unapprised of what may be proposed by our allies to be done with their fleet in the course of the ensuing winter, I would beg leave to intimate to you, that if it should appear eligible to them that it should winter in Chesapeake Bay, they may be well supplied with provision, taking their measures in due time beforehand. The waters communicating with that Bay furnish easy, and, in that case, safe transportation, and their money will call forth what is denied to ours. I am, with all possible esteem and respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Camp, 25 September, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I take this early opportunity to inform your Excellency, that, in the late interview, no exchanges took place, and that I see little prospect that any will be effected while the idea remains that officers only are to be the subject of it.

In the course of conversation with General Phillips (for nothing more took place between us relative to a general exchange of prisoners, as I early informed

him that I was not authorized to go into that matter), I found that he supposed the reason why we declined the exchange of privates, was, that we were unwilling to throw into their hands, in the middle of a campaign, such a reënforcement as they would receive by an exchange of all the privates. To obviate this difficulty he mentioned, that the exchange of privates might be postponed to some future day, say the first of December, sooner or later, as should be agreed on, but so as not to act this campaign. This, I hope, will remove the objections which have existed against a general exchange of privates. I think policy, justice, and humanity, point to the propriety of exchanging them, if not immediately, yet at the close of the campaign. Your Excellency will permit me to offer the reasons on which I ground this opinion.

The men now prisoners of war (excuse the personality of my situation) are those who, from an attachment to the liberties of America, engaged in her cause from a reliance that they should not only find every support from their fellow-citizens, in the important contest, but that they should enjoy all the immunities and blessings peculiar to the soldier, in the power of the people to grant. That an exchange, when made a prisoner, is one of the rights of a soldier, none, I think, will deny, and that he may claim a release, when just and reasonable terms can be had.

The long and distressing captivity which many of the prisoners have endured; the severe sufferings to which many of them are now reduced, from nakedness and hunger, their constant attendants, and the want of almost every convenience and necessary of life, the miseries of which are augmented and embittered by the narrow limits of a loathsome jail, and

their having no assurance that their sufferings will soon have an end,—call for redress.

The prisoners, pained with regret, are become sore; their minds are soured, and their friends and connections think them neglected by the public. This may prevent the recruiting our battalions, and cause a disrelish for the service. Every thing of the kind, I think, should be avoided; and this was never more necessary than at the present day, when it seems to be the general voice, that our only safety and the freedom of America (under the Supreme Arbiter) depend on an army raised for the war. If we should refuse to exchange the privates, on the proposals made, of man for man, it must, I think, operate powerfully on the minds of those who otherwise might engage in the service, when they reflect how uncertain are the events of war, and that it may be their lot to become the prisoners, and be destined to a miserable, perhaps to an endless, captivity. And, when the enemy shall have published their declaration of our refusal to accede to an equal and fair exchange, we may find it a matter of much difficulty to justify ourselves to the world at large, who will naturally enough suspect us of injustice in not fulfilling our public engagements, as they will accuse us of wanting humanity in neglecting those very men who have stepped forth to assert our rights.

The daily decreasing of the number of the Convention troops, by deserting to the enemy, for which we have no compensation, and the great expense to which we are exposed for the support of them, and of our officers and men, prisoners of war with the enemy, must have their weight in urging to the propriety of an exchange.

To the foregoing reasons (in my humble opinion

sufficient in themselves) permit me, my dear General, to annex an apprehension for our unfortunate prisoners now in New York. The enemy, supposing themselves authorized by our refusal of an exchange, may, under the pretence of economizing provisions, providing for their own safety, or some other plausible reason, have our prisoners removed to some distant, and consequently disagreeable, situation, where they may be subjected to less expense, &c. Should an event of this kind take place, retaliation is hardly in our power, as all parts of the Continent are equally agreeable to the British.

I hope, Sir, on a review of the matter, as the objection of reënforcing the enemy this campaign is removed, a general exchange will be adopted, by which many of your officers and men, now suffering under the most miserable captivity, will be released, and once more have the honor of fighting, under your Excellency's particular command, in support of that independence of America, which induced them to quit the sweets of a domestic life for the toils of a camp, which no one will reënter with more cheerfulness, than he,

Who has the honor to be, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 26 September, 1780.

SIR,

The inclosed copy of a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Colonel Balfour, was sent me by Governor Rutledge;* lest you should not have seen it, I do my-

* See this letter in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 555.

self the pleasure of transmitting it, with a letter from General Harrington to General Gates, giving information of some late movements of the enemy.

I was honored, yesterday, with your favor of the 5th instant, on the subject of prisoners, and particularly of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton. You are not unapprised of the influence of this officer with the Indians, his activity and embittered zeal against us. You also, perhaps, know how precarious is our tenure of the Illinois country, and how critical is the situation of the new counties on the Ohio. These circumstances determined us to retain Governor Hamilton and Major Hay within our power, when we delivered up the other prisoners. On a late representation from the people of Kentucky, by a person sent here from that country, and expressions of what they had reason to apprehend from these two prisoners, in the event of their liberation, we assured them they would not be parted with, though we were giving up our other prisoners.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dubuysson, Aid to Baron de Kalb, lately came here on his parole, with an offer from Lord Rawdon, to exchange him for Hamilton. Colonel Towles is now here, with a like proposition as to himself, from General Phillips, very strongly urged by the General. These, and other overtures, do not lessen our opinion of the importance of retaining him; and they have been, and will uniformly be, rejected. Should the settlement, indeed, of a cartel, become impracticable, without the consent of the States to submit their separate prisoners to its obligation, we will give up these two prisoners, as we would any thing, rather than be an obstacle to a general good; but no other circumstances would, I believe, extract them from us. These two gentle-

men, with a Lieutenant-Colonel Elligood, are the only separate prisoners we have retained, and the last only on his own request, and not because we set any store by him. There is, indeed, a Lieutenant-Governor Rocheblawe, of Kaskaskia, who has broken his parole, and gone to New York, whom we must shortly trouble your Excellency to demand for us, as soon as we can forward to you the proper documents. Since the forty prisoners sent to Winchester, as mentioned in my letter of the 9th ultimo, about one hundred and fifty more have been sent thither, some of them taken by us at sea, others sent on by General Gates.

The exposed and weak state of our western settlements, and the dangers to which they are subject from the northern Indians, acting under the influence of the British post at Detroit, render it necessary for us to keep from five to eight hundred men on duty, for their defence. This is a great and perpetual expense. Could that post be reduced, and retained, it would cover all the States to the south-east of it. We have long meditated the attempt, under the direction of Colonel Clark; but the expense would be so great, that whenever we have wished to take it up, this circumstance has obliged us to decline it. Two different estimates make it amount to two millions of pounds, present money. We could furnish the men, provisions, and, I believe, every necessary except powder, had we the money, or could the demands from us be so far supplied from other quarters as to leave it in our power to apply such a sum to that purpose; and, when once done, it would save annual expenditures to a great amount. When I speak of furnishing the men, I mean that they should be militia, such being the popularity of Colo-

nel Clark, and the confidence of the western people in him, that he could raise the requisite number at any time.

We therefore beg leave to refer this matter to yourself, to determine whether such an enterprise would not be for the general good; and, if you think it would, to authorize it at the general expense. This is become the more reasonable, if, as I am informed, the ratification of the Confederation has been rested on our cession of a part of our western claims, a cession which (speaking my private opinion only) I verily believe will be agreed to, if the quantity demanded be not unreasonably great. Should this proposition be approved, it should be immediately made known to us, as the season is now coming on at which some of the preparations must be made. The time of execution, I think, should be at the breaking up of the ice in the Wabash, and before the Lakes open. The interval, I am told, is considerable. I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMESON.

North Castle, 27 September, 1789.

SIR,

This will be delivered to you by John Paulding, one of the young men that took Major André, and who nobly refused any sum of money that he should demand. The other two young men, that were in company with him, are not yet found; as soon as they arrive, they shall be sent on.

I have just seen Kennicutt. He thinks it will be impossible for him to go below again. He begs your

instruction and assistance. Almost all his furniture, clothes, and money are below. Some of the plunderers from above have stole his horse, which makes him very poor. He has gone down between the lines to try to get out some of his things, and to give notice to some people that have assisted him in his business.

I should take it as a particular favor, if you would use your influence with Governor Clinton to have some Board appointed to inquire into and determine the horrid practice of plundering that is carried on in this part of the country. I have no doubt but that the plunderers, above and below, are connected. If some proper Board could be appointed, or the Commanding Officer on the lines vested with proper authority from Governor Clinton, many petty villains, near the lines, may be detected, I make no doubt, who hold a correspondence with Delancy's cow-boys.

I am very sorry that I wrote to General Arnold. I did not think of a British ship being up the river, and expected that, if he was the man he has since turned out to be, he would come down to the troops in this quarter, in which case I should have secured him. I mentioned my intention to Major Tallmadge, and some others of the Field-Officers, all of whom were clearly of opinion that it would be right, until I could hear from your Excellency.

The Queen's rangers, I am informed, marched from Oyster Bay, last Saturday, for King's Bridge; the 17th, on Sunday; and some others are ordered to hold themselves in readiness. Two British officers went on board the Vulture just above Tarrytown. They were out in the country, clothed in mean, ragged, country clothes, and, at the river side, changed them for fine laced regimentals. Some gentleman came out from King's Bridge, about a fortnight ago, with a

handkerchief full of gold, changed his clothes for an old nankeen jackcoat, and pushed up the North River.

I am, &c.

JOHN JAMESON.

FROM JOSEPH JONES.

Virginia, 2 October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

The Medical department was under the consideration of a Committee before I left Congress, and will, it is probable, undergo a change that may curtail the number of the present appointments. Should this be the case, and the new arrangement take place before I return (which at present is my intention to do before Christmas), I shall recommend to the support of the Virginia Delegates the gentlemen you have been pleased to mention, whose long services and well-known characters entitle them to be among the first officers in the establishment.

If I am not mistaken, the spirit of party is much abated in Congress. Some instances of the old prejudices and partialities that disgraced and must ever disgrace their counsels, I think I have discovered; but they are few, and I entertained hopes that the flame was nearly extinguished. And, although some restless tempers, as some there are and ever will be in public assemblies of men, may attempt to revive those disputes which were carried to such height between the contending factions, as to neglect the more important concerns of the public, there are, I trust, a sufficient number of mild spirits who will oppose and repress such dishonorable attempts, and confine themselves to the discussion alone of such matters as justice and the general welfare require. I am cer-

tain the important objects now before Congress are sufficient to engage their attention and employ their time, without perplexing themselves by a revival of old and expiring controversies.

It was with reluctance I left Philadelphia before the report upon your letter respecting the army and magazines was complete, and the arrangements of the civil offices of Congress were digested; but an apprehension that the Assembly was to meet the first Monday in October, as usual, and a desire of spending a short time with my family before I went to Richmond, determined me to set out so as to reach home about the middle of September. I now find I might have staid a fortnight longer, as the session does not commence until the third Monday in this month.

Congress having taken some steps towards completing the Federal Union, which I anxiously wish to accomplish, induced me to be here early in the session, that the sense of this State upon that interesting question might be taken; that, if the proposition was approved, it might be divulged to other States without delay; and Virginia, being more interested than any other in a cession of unappropriated territory, the example would not fail to have weight, and be followed by others. We are already too large for the energy of republican government; and, I fear, shall still be so, if the Assembly shall relinquish their claim to the north-west of the Ohio to the Continent. I wished, too, to be able to be present the beginning of the session, to urge the filling up our battalions immediately, and providing magazines in time, as the ensuing winter to the south and the approaching spring to the north, if our ally shall command the water, might afford us favorable opportunities of act-

ing to advantage. But, alas! instead of the French commanding the water, we have the mortification to hear Rodney, with twelve ships of the line and four frigates, has arrived at the Hook. Where, for God's sake, is Count de Guichen, with his great and formidable fleet? Surely, not inactive.

Adieu. Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH JONES.

FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LAURENS.

Philadelphia, 4 October, 1780.

With the triumph of a republican, and the more tender emotions of one who sincerely loves his General, I congratulate your Excellency on your late providential escape.* I congratulate my country, whose safety is so intimately united with yours, and who may regard this miraculous rescue of her champion as an assurance that Heaven approves her choice of a defender, and is propitious to her cause. In fact, all the ascendancy that could be given by virtue, genius, and valor, would only have furnished a deplorable example of unfortunate merit, if, by the Divine interposition, you had not prevailed over the most impenetrable perfidy that has yet disgraced mankind. This happy event must inspire every virtuous citizen of America with new confidence, and transfix her enemies with awful terror. André has, I suppose, paid the forfeit which public justice demanded; example will derive new force from his conspicuous character. Arnold must undergo a pun-

* Alluding to Arnold's treachery, and the scheme for seizing General Washington on his return from Hartford to West Point.

ishment incomparably more severe, in the permanent, increasing, torment of a mental hell.

I am waiting in anxious expectation of an answer from Captain Wallop, a man of great interest and credit among the British, who was indulged with a limited parole to negotiate my exchange by composition. Sir Henry Clinton's late sanguine expectation of success may have suspended business of this kind, and produced some delay; but I still derive great hopes from that quarter. I need not inform your Excellency how I have languished in so long a separation from you, and how anxious I am to assure you, in person, of the veneration and attachment of your faithful Aid.

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, 5 October, 1780.

SIR,

A new disposition of the army going to be made, and an officer appointed to the command of West Point and the district on the east side of the North River, I take the liberty just to intimate my inclinations for the appointment. Your Excellency will judge of the propriety, and determine as the honor of the army and the good of the service may require.

I hope there is nothing indelicate or improper in the application. I am prompted to the measure from the feelings incident to the human heart, as well as encouraged in the hope that it would meet your approbation, from the flattering manner in which you have been pleased to speak of my conduct upon dif-

ferent occasions. I shall make use of no arguments, being persuaded my pretensions and inclinations will have their full operation, and that nothing short of the public good and military prosperity will contravene my wishes.

My first object is the freedom and happiness of my country. With these, your Excellency's reputation and glory are inseparably connected; and as it has been my constant wish, so it shall be my future endeavour, to promote the establishment of both.

I am, &c.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR NASH, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Newbern, 6 October, 1780.

SIR,

Confiding that your Excellency was constantly made acquainted with whatever related to the military affairs of this and the neighbouring State of South Carolina, I thought it unnecessary to increase your trouble by opening a direct correspondence with you myself, as Governor of this State. But, Sir, the distresses of this country, and the dangers we are now exposed to, in consequence of the defeat of our army under General Gates, in August last, oblige me, in point of duty, to address myself to your Excellency, who, I know, has an equal concern for the safety of every part of the United States.

I am to acquaint you, Sir, that, for want of an early knowledge of the requisition of Congress for specific supplies, added to the bad crops of grain made in this State, for two years past, the army under Baron de Kalb, and our militia in the beginning of the present campaign, suffered the greatest hard-

ships, and were subsisted with the greatest difficulty. This difficulty, however, at length was overcome by our army's having made their march good to Pedee River, about the beginning of August. Here, Sir, they fortunately recovered from the enemy one of the most fertile and plentiful settlements in the Southern States, and obliged them, in turn, to take post in the barren, wretched country of Camden, where they were very soon reduced to strait allowance. South Carolina, in the mean time, encouraged by this successful advance of our army, was revolting from its late masters, in all quarters and in great numbers. The militia of the two States had had nine several skirmishes with the enemy, and had been successful in every one. In short, the enemy's destruction was inevitable, had not the Général determined, unfortunately for us, to risk the fate of the campaign, and with it the two Carolinas, on the event of a single battle.

I think I am justified in saying, he put all to risk, as I have mentioned, because no previous effectual measures were taken to save the baggage; nor do I learn that any place was assigned for the army to retreat to, in case of misfortune, which, in my opinion, might have been reasonably expected. Our men, by hard marches and bad living, were sickly and weak; and much the greater part of the army were militia, who had never been in action. On the other hand, the enemy, whose numbers, by the by, were unknown, were fresh, and had the sure advantage of engaging us when and where they pleased; of course they chose their ground and time to good effect. The action no sooner commenced than, as might have been dreaded, the centre and left wing of the line, composed of militia, and a great part of these, riflemen, got into confusion, and fled away.

At this point of time, had the regulars been ordered to retreat to Rugely's Mills, five miles in their rear, possibly all might have been saved. One hundred men there, I am told, would have defended the pass against the whole British force. But it was not done, and the enemy, having nothing to oppose them on our left, of course turned it; and the General might well suppose, as it seems he did, that they were all cut off. However, by the superior bravery of those excellent troops, they at length extricated themselves from their difficulties, and, after making great havoc among the enemy, came off in tolerably good order, and with less loss than could have been expected.

But, Sir, the loss of these brave men was not our greatest loss. We had expended upwards of twenty-five millions of dollars on this army. We had drained every source, and exhausted every fund, in purchasing tents, wagons, horses, arms, ammunition, provisions, spirits, sugar, coffee, camp equipage of every kind, in short, every thing appertaining to an army; and in a single half hour, all is completely lost, and the army, in a manner, annihilated. For the militia fled chiefly to their respective homes, spreading terror wherever they went; and the regulars, of course, continued retreating on after their General, until they at length eventually collected at Hillsborough, two hundred and forty miles from the place of action, where the General arrived the third day after the action, leaving all the country behind open to the incursion and ravages of the enemy. At this place, Sir, the regular troops now remain, inactive and useless for want of tents, clothes, and other necessaries, whilst the enemy are making the most alarming advances into the richest and strongest part of this

State. My last letter from General Davidson, who, for the present, commands the militia to the westward, dated the 26th ultimo, says, this day, at eleven o'clock, the enemy marched in force into Charlotte, his army retreating, and meaning to take post on the north side of the Yadkin. And Sir, I am to remark to you, that from the Yadkin, to within about twenty miles of Hillsborough, the inhabitants are chiefly disaffected to our government; so that, if our militia shall not be able to hold their post on the Yadkin, a river fordable anywhere, their further retreat will not only be difficult and precarious, but the enemy's army will inevitably swell and grow more formidable; and, in such a case, what have we to expect, but that General Gates will retreat with the shattered remains of his regular army over the Roanoke, which he is now within about thirty miles of?

This, Sir, is a true picture of our present deranged and feeble condition, the effects of the unfortunate affair of the 16th of August. I have acquainted Congress with our defenceless state, and of the fatal consequences, to the United States, of losing North Carolina. I have told them, in plain terms, that our funds are exhausted; that our militia are without tents, badly armed, and dispirited, for want of regular troops to form a proper basis of defence; that the unsettled state we are in will render precarious any dependence on us for a sufficient supply of provisions; and have urged them, in the strongest terms I am capable of, to afford some timely aid. And, Sir, I also beg leave earnestly to call your Excellency's attention towards the effectual defence of this part of the United States. I know, Sir, both you and Congress know the importance of these Southern States, and I acknowledge you had made what seem-

ed a very sufficient provision, not only for our defence, but for the recovery of, at least, the upper parts of South Carolina. But, Sir, unfortunately for us, we have lost all advantage from the former aid, and the force of our militia is also weakened and reduced by the entire loss of our field equipage, and our incapacity to repair the loss. To give your Excellency some idea of the cruelties practised by the enemy over those who fall into their power, I inclose to you a copy of Lord Cornwallis's orders to an officer commanding at a separate post. If you desire of me, Sir, a continuation of intelligence from this part of America, I shall be happy, during my continuance in office, in obeying your orders;

And am, &c.,

ABNER NASH.

FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Trenton, 7 October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I most heartily congratulate your Excellency on the timely discovery of General Arnold's treasonable plot to captivate your person, and deliver up West Point to the enemy; of which the loss of the former, had his infernal machinations succeeded, would have been more regretted by America than of the latter. The remarkable interposition of Providence to frustrate the diabolical conspiracy, will inspire every virtuous American with sincere gratitude to the Great Arbiter of all events; and I hope not a true Whig among us will ever forget the memorable era, when we were, by the peculiar guardianship of Heaven, rescued from the very brink of destruction.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

West Point, 7 October, 1780.

SIR,

I received your Excellency's letter of yesterday, and am very glad that you have ordered up the troops which are to compose the garrison, as it is very necessary they should be here, that things may be got into some kind of order before the winter. At present, they are very much deranged. The laying in a proper stock of fire-wood is a very heavy, but a very essential business, and the militia, which have been employed in cutting it, I am told, have done little more than supply the post at Fishkill, and are very little ahead. I expect a report of the quantity to-day from Colonel Hughes, to whom I have recommended to allot them a moderate task per day, as the best means to make them most useful.

The magazine of provisions is very nearly exhausted; thirty barrels only of salted meat on hand, exclusive of what is in the works (about five days' for the troops posted in them), and no cattle, and the men have been some days reduced to three quarters of a pound of flour. I expect, however, two hundred barrels of that article to-day, and have written to Colonel Hay (to be laid before the Legislature of this State), very pressingly, to have an immediate and ample supply of provisions thrown in, as it may not be possible to do it some time hence, from the state the river is frequently in, about the beginning of winter.

I directed Colonel Livingston to collect and send up here all the boats that were not necessary below, provided they had not been ordered there by your

Excellency for some particular purpose.* His answer is, that they were ordered there for transporting the cannon, in case it became necessary to evacuate the posts he commands. They will therefore remain there unless I have your directions to the contrary; but I must beg leave to suggest to your Excellency that, after the intention of the enemy becomes apparent with respect to them, it will most probably be too late to evacuate them with any probability of saving the cannon and stores. If they be evacuated before their intention is discovered, it will be in their power to occupy them, after they may have failed in an attempt upon this place. I find some heavy brass field-artillery here, which is not, I suppose, intended for garrison use, and had better be removed. Some repairs have been making upon the carriages, but that might as well be done anywhere else. The Pennsylvania brigade shall march as soon as the other troops arrive.

The times of the militia begin to expire on the 14th, and will all be expired on the 24th. I have not heard from Major Tallmadge, nor have any accounts from New York by any other way.

I am, &c.,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

FROM JAMES DUANE, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 10 October, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Yesterday I had the honor of your Excellency's very friendly letter of the 4th instant, for which be pleased to accept my warmest thanks.

* Colonel Livingston commanded at Verplanck's Point and Stony Point.

Before this reaches your hands, you will have received the new arrangement of the army. Submitted, as it is, to your opinion, it is only to be considered as an essay, open to such alterations as you may suggest. The idea of a majority of Congress was clear, that it would be too hazardous to risk the defence of America on the practicability of drawing an army for the war into the field by the first of January. The alternative, therefore, as you will find it guarded, was thought necessary, though all admitted a permanent force to be most desirable. I saw and explained the danger of an alternative, however cautiously expressed. The States may think they do enough if they comply with either of the injunctions; and while men who make arms a profession have a prospect of being annually retained for high premiums, they will hardly tie themselves at once for the war.

In the original proposition there was another alternative,—for the war, or *for three years*; besides that which gives your Excellency so much and such just apprehension. This last was rejected by a majority, perhaps unfortunately, as, in the opinion of many, it strengthened the reasons for the annual supply by drafts. I do not think it too late to correct this error, if pointed out with the force that every thing falls from your pen. The manner of reduction is, I am confident, liable to great objection, and I have no doubt but you will suggest a rule, or principle, or any thing you may think better, which will avoid the difficulty you suggest, and meet with approbation; for I do not conceive that a single member will be tenacious of the provision on this article. Indeed, I am persuaded that your Excellency's representations, on this and every subject, will have as

much influence as you can wish; and that, on this particular occasion, nothing but a clear conviction of impracticability will induce Congress to overrule your opinion.

A false estimate of the power and perseverance of our enemies was friendly to the present revolution, and inspired that confidence of success, in all ranks of people, which was necessary to unite them in so arduous a cause. You cannot forget the opinions which were current on this floor, at the first and second Congresses, and how firmly they established this error. We seem to part with it with reluctance; it still hangs heavy upon us, and has produced the indecision, the expedients, and the debility of which you complain. I hope misfortunes and distresses will, at length, rouse us to just sentiments and vigorous exertions, and, with your Excellency, I pray God, that the fatal delusion which has marked our conduct, may end here.

When the enemy turn their eyes to the southward, they see too much imbecility not to be encouraged to attempt to extend their conquest, and improve advantages which they have derived, in no small degree, from our own temerity and misconduct. I believe we shall not want men to oppose them, Virginia having made efforts, the expensiveness of which is incredible, and North Carolina being equally disposed to act vigorously, though not so capable to raise their quota, for a fixed and certain period. I wish we may have it in our power to provide the necessary supplies. Your Excellency too well knows and feels our difficulties and embarrassments, and that they are only to be surmounted by great exertions. I flatter myself that you do me no more than justice in believing that duty and inclination equally demand

my assiduous endeavours to correct our past errors, and draw forth our resources.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for your account of the interview at Hartford; and beg you to believe, that no man can be with greater affection and personal attachment than I am, &c.,

JAMES DUANE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

West Point, 16 October, 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 14th, appointing me to the command of the Southern army, was delivered me last evening.

I beg your Excellency to be persuaded that I am fully sensible of the honor you do me, and will endeavour to manifest my gratitude by a conduct that will not disgrace the appointment. I only lament that my abilities are not more competent to the duties that will be required of me, and that it will not be in my power, on that account, to be as extensively useful as my inclination leads me to wish. But, as far as zeal and attention can supply the defect, I flatter myself my country will have little cause to complain. I foresee the command will be accompanied with innumerable embarrassments. But the generous support which I expect from the partiality of the southern gentlemen, as well as the aid and assistance I hope to derive from your Excellency's advice and extensive influence, affords me some consolation in contemplating the difficulties.

I will prepare myself for the command as soon as I can. But, as I have been five years and upwards

in service, during all which time I have paid no attention to the settlement of my domestic concerns (and many divisions of interest, and partition of landed property, between me and my brothers, have taken place in the time, and now lie unfinished), if it was possible, I should be glad to spend a few days at home, before I set out to the southward, especially as it is altogether uncertain how long my command may continue, or what deaths or accidents may happen, during my absence, to defeat the business. I beg your Excellency's opinion upon the matter, by which I will regulate my conduct. However, it will not be possible for me to leave this place for several days, if I put my baggage in the least order, or my business in a proper train for such a long journey. Nor is my health in a condition to set out immediately, having had a considerable fever upon me for several days.

General Heath arrived last evening, and will take the command this morning. I shall make him fully acquainted with all the dispositions I have made, and steps taken, which concern the post and its dependencies; and will give him my opinion what further is necessary to be done, to carry into execution your Excellency's instructions for putting the garrison in a proper state of defence, and prepare it for the approaching winter.

General McDougall is also here, and I have the pleasure to inform you that he and I perfectly agree in sentiment in what concerns the garrison and its dependencies. I am, &c.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM JOHN MATHEWS, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 17 October, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

At the time I wrote to you respecting that part of the system for the army that had been agreed on by Congress, I had despaired of its being submitted to your opinion. I had moved for it, but my proposition was rejected, on a principle that the whole should go together. We have received your Excellency's sentiments on this very important subject, such as I evidently foresaw would be the result of your serious consideration. Your observations are incontrovertible; and, unless Congress are so bigoted to the idol they have set up, and are determined to reject every principle that can have the least tendency to invalidate the foundation on which it is erected, they must ultimately adopt the plan you propose. No other, I am convinced, can ever answer our purposes.

But even in this case, a most tremendous inconvenience arises; for here is the month of October better than half spent, and probably before Congress come to a final determination, November will be arrived, and then there remains only two months for prosecuting this great work. The time is certainly too short for its completion. I consequently dread the arrival of the first day of January. Had Congress put this business in the train that was proposed early in September, so much precious time would have been saved as, in all probability, would have given success to the plan. However, we must now use our best endeavours to put things on as good a footing as the nature of the case will admit of. Your Excellency's letter of the 11th instant is committed to the same

Committee who brought in the former report, together with that report; but nothing is as yet done in it.

My plan, respecting the annual recruits, was only meant to render the system as useful as possible; for, if an alternative must be admitted into it, we should endeavour to derive every possible advantage from it. I therefore thought it best to have the power to detain the men, and take our chance for its success, rather than that they should, at all events, be at liberty to disband themselves at a certain day.

Your Excellency's appointment of General Greene to the command of the Southern army has given general satisfaction. To the five Southern States I know it has given the highest satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN MATHEWS.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 17 October, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

Your favor of the 14th of August I had the honor to receive on the 7th instant, and am very thankful for the contents. You must, ere now, be convinced that Colonel Bowman's apprehensions were founded on certain intelligence, of an expedition intended against the forts on Kentucky. I have sent out parties to take cattle and grain from the inhabitants, and expect to obtain a considerable supply of flour, as the mills begin to have water sufficient to manufacture it; but the inhabitants disappoint us of getting beef, by driving their cattle into the mountains. And we have, at present, neither bread nor meat, but expect a small supply immediately. Captain Brady is on command.

and Captain McIntyre has leave of absence to Philadelphia; as soon as they return, I will express your Excellency's thanks for their conduct.

In full confidence that a sufficient supply of provision would, sooner or later, be furnished for the troops in this district, as well as for such number of militia as policy or the exigencies of affairs might render it necessary to call into action, I, with a view to cut off the Wyandets and other Indian towns that were very troublesome to our settlements, called for a draft from the militia, at three different times, and was as often disappointed in obtaining provisions; which, with the unsettled state of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, has greatly discouraged the inhabitants, and, I apprehend, given a handle to the disaffected. I take the liberty to inclose copies of letters, lately received from Colonels Butler and McCleary, purporting some of the above facts.

The Delaware Chiefs, with upwards of thirty warriors, are come to aid me upon an expedition; but, as I have neither bread nor meat to give them, they will soon discover that it is not in my power to act offensively. They appear much dejected on account of the total want of goods, which they were promised in exchange for their peltry.

Unless supplies of beef, &c. are procuring below the mountains, which I know nothing of, the troops here will experience great hardship before spring, and desertions will be very frequent. I have frequently represented to the Honorable Board of War the hardships of the troops, and am now informed by their Secretary that compulsion is tolerated by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania for a temporary supply. I continue my inquiries respecting

the strength of Detroit, and my intelligence is of a piece with that formerly communicated.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Albany, 10 o'clock, P. M., 18 October, 1780.

SIR,

I wrote your Excellency from Poughkeepsie on Saturday last, and communicated to you the accounts which I had then received from this quarter. The next day I set out for this place, and arrived here on Monday. Upon my arrival, I found the main body of the enemy, which appeared in the northward, had returned by the way of Lake George; and that part of the country seemed again to be in a state of tranquillity. Yesterday morning, however, I was informed that a party had made its appearance at Ballston, and destroyed some buildings there; and, about noon, received accounts that the enemy were at Schoharie, and it is now confirmed that they have destroyed the whole of that valuable settlement. Their numbers of one division are computed at about six hundred, and the accounts of the other division are uncertain. They have artillery with them. Major Woolsey, who commands two hundred of the levies, made a sally from one of the small forts there, and took two regulars and killed five savages. By what route they came, or mean to return, I have not been able to ascertain. Yesterday morning I ordered General Van Rensselaer, with some troops, to Schenectady, with directions, as soon as he could make the

proper discoveries, and if his force should appear competent, to march and endeavour to intercept them.

By a letter from General Schuyler at Saratoga, I am informed that the enemy yesterday burnt the settlement of White Creek, in Charlotte county; and the smoke was discoverable from the heights, near his house.

The post at Fort Edward, after the removal of the stores, is evacuated, the levies, who were stationed there, having insisted that their time of service is expired; and Colonel Livingston, the commanding officer, with the other officers, are now on their return. I have ordered out the whole of the militia from this part of the State. A considerable part are already in the field, and I shall leave this immediately for Schenectady, in order to make the necessary arrangement.

From this state of matters, your Excellency will perceive the necessity of sending a force, if it can possibly be spared, for the defence of this part of the country. No dependence can be placed on the militia remaining from home, and the three months' levies will soon be dismissed; so that, without some farther protection, Schenectady and this place will be our frontier. I received no intelligence from the Grants, either whether the enemy have done any mischief there, or whether their militia is turning for our assistance.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

West Point, 19 October, 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency's favor of the 18th came to hand this afternoon. I had given over the thoughts of going home, even if I obtained your permission, before I received your pleasure upon the subject. My affairs require it; but I am fully convinced that the time it will take, and the state of the Southern department, will not admit of the indulgence. When I marched from Toppan, I wrote to Mrs. Greene to come to camp, and expect her here every hour. Should I set out before her arrival, the disappointment of not seeing me, added to the shock of my going to the southward, I am very apprehensive will have some disagreeable effect upon her health, especially as her apprehensions have been all alive respecting my going to the southward, before there was the least probability of it.

My baggage sets out in the morning, if Colonel Hughes does not disappoint me about the horses; and my stay shall not be more than a day longer, whether Mrs. Greene arrives or not. Your Excellency cannot be more anxious to have me come on, than I am to comply with your orders, especially since the two last articles of intelligence, the sailing of the troops at New York, and the advance of Lord Cornwallis into the State of North Carolina.

I am, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 22 October, 1780.

SIR,

I have this morning received certain information of the arrival of a hostile fleet, of about sixty sail, in our Bay. The debarkation of some light-horse, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, seems to indicate that as the first scene of their action. We are endeavouring to collect as large a body to oppose them as we can arm. This will be lamentably inadequate, if the enemy be in any force. It is mortifying to suppose it possible that a people, able and zealous to contend with the enemy, should be reduced to fold their arms for want of the means of defence; yet no resources, that we know of, ensure us against this event.

It has become necessary to divert, to this new object, a considerable part of the aids we had destined for General Gates. We are still, however, sensible of the necessity of supporting him, and have left that part of our country, most convenient to him, uncalled on at present, that they may reënforce him as soon as arms can be received. We have called to the command of our forces Generals Weedon and Muhlenberg, of the line, and Nelson and Stephens of the militia. You will be pleased to make to these such additions as you think necessary. As to aids of men, I ask for none, knowing that if the late detachments of the enemy should have left it safe for you to spare aids of that kind, you will not await my application. Of the troops we shall be able to collect, there is not a single man who ever saw the face of an enemy. Whether the Convention troops

will be removed is not yet determined; this must depend on the force of the enemy and the aspect of their movements. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Trenton, 23 October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am just honored with your Excellency's favor of the 18th instant, which shall be laid before the Legislature without loss of time. I hope your Excellency's reasonings upon the subject of our embarrassments may have the weight they justly deserve, and happily prevent our longer continuing under those delusions which have hitherto made the independence of America a contested point. I have often been chagrined at the propagation of the mischievous doctrine, that the enemy had given over all idea of conquest. I am confident they never had more sanguine expectations of it than at present; and, perhaps, never entertained the idea upon better grounds.

I do not, by this observation, mean to insinuate that I am in the least apprehensive of the probability, and scarcely of the possibility, of such an event. in case the States make such exertions as the situation of our affairs requires; but on the supposition that we continue to prosecute the war agreeably to the system hitherto pursued. For, as such conduct on our part will undoubtedly induce them to protract the dispute, and as the war, by that means, will soon become the measuring of the length of our respective purses, instead of that of our swords, I am convinced,

from the state of our commerce, and the number of our intestine enemies, that the final establishment of our liberty principally depends upon such exertions as will compel them to a speedy peace.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

FROM BARON STEUBEN.

Philadelphia, 23 October, 1780.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

It is with the greatest satisfaction I acquaint you that the plan of arrangement for the army, which your Excellency sent to Congress, has been agreed upon yesterday, without any alteration. The granting the half-pay for life, to the reduced officers, has met with some opposition; but the proposition has not only passed, but it was moved and resolved, immediately after, to extend these advantages to all the officers in the service.

In the minutes which Colonel Hamilton has delivered me, by your Excellency's order, I find that the four regiments of cavalry, or rather legions, were thus fixed; —

Four troops of mounted dragoons, sixty men each,	240
Four companies dismounted, or chasseurs, sixty men each,	240
	<hr/>
Total,	480

General Sullivan and Colonel Bland have told me that this is altered in your Excellency's letter; and that there are to be

Four troops of mounted dragoons, sixty men each,	240
Two companies of chasseurs, sixty men each,	120
<hr/>	
Total,	360

Your Excellency will allow me to make here a short observation on the subdivision of this cavalry, without altering the totality of the foot or horsemen. Cavalry, especially when two deep, is not very terrible in their attacks in front, and least so when against infantry. The attacks of the cavalry, when they intend to overthrow or break a line, are generally made by troops or squadrons, or in column, or in *échiquier* (checkerwise). The deeper they are, the surer they are to break through. If, then, instead of four, a regiment was divided into six troops, the object would be better answered.

There is another reason, which has determined the King of Prussia to divide his light-horse, or hussars, into six companies, forming three squadrons. The cavalry, after an attack, is generally in disorder; they must then be rallied by the sound of the trumpet. When they are divided into three squadrons, the right, left, and centre only indicate how the men are to rally, which is not so easy when they are divided into four troops. When three squadrons are in order of battle, the signals, whether the right, left, or centre squadron is to charge, still meet with difficulty when the cavalry is divided into four squadrons or troops; and this is the reason why, in several European services, an odd number has been adopted for the manœuvres of the light-horse.

Besides, our regiments of cavalry will have, I believe, as those of infantry, three Field-Officers. Each of them will then command a squadron, which will

consist of two companies. Wherefore I propose that each regiment of cavalry may be divided into three squadrons, each squadron into two companies, each of which shall consist of forty men, which will make eighty men for a squadron. The companies of chasseurs ought to be likewise three in number, each company to consist of fifty men, rank and file, attached, on all occasions, to the first, second, and third squadron of the regiment. And, as it often happens that the squadrons are separated from one another, each company of chasseurs ought to be always attached to its squadron, as well to support it in its manœuvres as to guard it in its quarters. As, by this subdivision, the totality will not suffer a great alteration, I believe it will not alter the general plan. I will, therefore, mention it to no one besides your Excellency; and I think it is in your power to order this subdivision, if you think proper.

I am not very happy in the arrangement of my department. The plan relative thereto, which your Excellency has delivered to the Committee which was at camp, after having been a little altered by that Committee, was sent to Congress. Congress referred it to the Board of War, who, after having altered it, sent it back to Congress, who thought proper to refer it to a Committee of three, who made new alterations. Now it has been so much altered, that it does not at all resemble itself. No intimation was officially given me of it, and I read it in a printed copy, which fell accidentally into my hands. I have the honor to transmit one to your Excellency.

The monthly addition of from five to eight dollars to the pay of officers of such merit as those whom your Excellency has chosen for the Inspectorship, appears to me so very mean, that I will not take upon

myself to make them such a proposition. When the ancient Majors of brigade, who, in the first institution, were taken from the line of Lieutenants or Ensigns, had an addition to their pay of twenty-four dollars per month, how can nine dollars now be proposed to a Colonel for discharging so important and so painful a function? I am now endeavouring to find how much the Muster-master's department has cost the States. I am sure that the addition I ask for the Officers of Inspectorship will not amount to an eighth part of it.

Several resolutions, in this arrangement, are contradictory to one another, and others are not sufficiently clear. I am therefore determined to present a Memorial to Congress, in order to have the Inspectors' department established on the footing proposed by your Excellency, without any alteration. If Congress desire that I should continue in this office, I flatter myself they will have a regard to my representation.

I am, &c.,

BARON STEUBEN.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 26 October, 1780.

SIR,

The Executive of this State think it expedient and necessary, that, under our present circumstances, the prisoners of war, under the Convention of Saratoga, be removed from their present situation.

Many circumstances have led to this necessity. It will be utterly impracticable, as long as they remain with us, to prevent the hostile army, now in this State, from being reënforced by numerous desertions from this corps; and this expectation may be one among the probable causes of this movement of the enemy. Should, moreover, a rescue of them be at-

tempted, the extensive disaffection which has been lately discovered, and almost total want of arms in the hands of our good people, render the success of such an enterprise by no means desperate. The fear of this, and of the dangerous convulsions to which such an attempt would expose us, diverts the attention of a very considerable part of our militia from an opposition to the invading enemy. An order has, therefore, been this day issued to Colonel Wood to take immediate measures for their removal, and every aid has been, and will be given him, for transporting, guarding, and subsisting them on the road, which our powers can accomplish. Notice hereof is sent, by the present conveyance, to his Excellency Governor Lee, on whose part I doubt not necessary preparations for their reception will be made. I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 30 October, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

My last letter was dated at Albany, and communicated the disagreeable intelligence of the destruction of Schoharie, and part of Ballstown, about twelve miles north-east of Schenectady; since which I have not been able to write to your Excellency.

As I then proposed, I immediately left Albany, in order to take the necessary measures for checking the further incursions of the enemy. On my arrival at Schenectady, I was advised that the different parties of the enemy at Schoharie and Ballstown, had left those places; the former moving towards the

Mohawk River, and the latter shaping their course towards Sacondaga. General Van Rensselaer, who had arrived at Schenectady before me, and with orders to act according to emergencies, on receiving this intelligence immediately moved up the river, in hopes of being able to gain their front; but this proved impracticable, as their route was much shorter, and their troops more inured to marching. They reached the river at the confluence of the Schoharie Kill, about six miles ahead of him, and, in that fertile country, recommenced their devastations by burning the houses, and with marks of the greatest barbarity, destroying every thing in their way.

Under these circumstances I was exceedingly perplexed. The militia, under General Van Rensselaer, were inferior in number to that of the enemy; the few I had with me were too far in the rear to sustain them; and not much could be expected from the militia of the country through which the enemy passed, their whole attention being engaged in the preservation of their families; and the levies were necessarily very much dispersed at the different posts, to cover the frontier settlements against the incursions of small parties. General Van Rensselaer, however, continued to move on, and, being soon after joined by Colonel Dubois, with between three hundred and four hundred levies, and sixty of the Oneida Indians, pursued the enemy with vigor. He came up with them at Fox's Mills, about twenty-six miles from where the enemy first struck the river, about sunset, and attacked them. After a considerable resistance they gave way, and fled with precipitation, leaving behind them their baggage, provisions, and a brass three-pounder, with its ammunition.

The night came on too soon for us to avail our-

selves of all the advantages which we had reason to promise ourselves from this action. The enemy took advantage of passing the river at a ford, a little above the place of action, where they again collected, and renewed their march up the river with great celerity; and it became necessary for our troops, who had marched upwards of thirty miles without halting, to retire from the ground to refresh themselves. The pursuit was, however, renewed early in the morning, and the enemy so closely pushed, as to prevent their doing any further mischief. The morning after the action, I arrived with the militia under my immediate command, but they were so beat out with fatigue, having marched at least fifty miles in less than twenty-four hours, as to be unable to proceed any further. I therefore left them, and put myself at the head of the advanced troops, and continued the pursuit to within about fifteen miles of Oneida; and, if we could possibly have procured provisions to have continued the pursuit a day or two longer, there is little doubt that we might have succeeded so far as to have scattered their main body, and made many prisoners. But there were no supplies but such as I was obliged to take from the inhabitants on our route, and these were inadequate, and the collection of them attended with delay; nor were the pack-horses, with the small quantities procured in this disagreeable manner, able to overtake us, in so rapid a march through a perfect wilderness. I was therefore obliged, though reluctantly, to return, most of the troops having been near two days utterly destitute, and unable to proceed.

Sir John, Brant, and Butler, immediately after the action at Fox's Mills, left their troops, and with a party of Indians, on horseback, struck across the country, and went towards Oneida, taking their

wounded with them. We discovered where they joined their main body again, near the waters of the Susquehanna, about six miles on this side, where we quitted the pursuit. Brant was wounded through the foot. The enemy's force under Sir John, from the best account I have been able to collect, amounted to seven hundred and fifty picked troops, from the tenth and thirty-fourth British regiments, Hessian Yagers, Sir John's corps, Butler's rangers, and Brant's corps of Indians and Tories, and the party that appeared at Ballstown, of about two hundred, chiefly British; and, by some accounts, it appears they intended to form a junction at Johnstown.

In the different skirmishes, a considerable number of the enemy were killed; the exact amount I am not able to ascertain. We have taken about forty prisoners, recovered most of those they had taken from us at Schoharie and other places, with the negroes, cattle, and plunder. Our principal loss is Colonel Brown, of the Bay levies. He, by false intelligence, was led into the fire of the whole body of the enemy, and fell, with thirty-nine of his and the militia and levies of this State; and two were made prisoners.

The accounts I formerly transmitted your Excellency, respecting the enemy to the northward, are, as far as I have since been able to learn, nearly true. The little post and garrison of Fort Ann, appears to me to have been surrendered through treachery or cowardice. Captain Chipman, commanding officer at Fort George, having, on the first alarm, sent out his whole garrison (supposing the enemy to consist of only about thirty Indians and Tories) except fourteen men, obtained a very honorable capitulation before he could be induced to surrender.

The injuries we have sustained, by these different incursions of the enemy, will be most severely felt. They have destroyed, on a moderate computation, two hundred dwellings and one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat, with a proportion of other grain and forage.

The enemy to the northward continue in the neighbourhood of Crown Point; and the inhabitants, in consequence of their apprehension of danger, are removing from the northern parts of the State. Colonel Gansevoort, by the advice of General Ten Broeck, marched to cover that part of the country, and Colonel Wiessenfels has since marched to Schenectady, where his regiment will continue to escort a sufficient supply of provisions to Fort Schuyler, a very considerable part of which is as yet provided; and unless particular attention is paid to this business, as the season for water transportation in the course of a month will be over, and it will be impossible to forward supplies by land, the post must, in the course of the winter, be abandoned. The levies incorporated into this regiment, whose times expire about the middle of December, were immediately to march to Fort Herkimer, to keep open the communication of Fort Schuyler with the country. This regiment, with the others of this State, are so exceedingly destitute in point of clothing, notwithstanding every attempt of the State to supply them, that I could have wished some other regiment, better provided against the severe climate, had been ordered to garrison on that post, especially as I find, from this consideration, and because the troops of this State conceive it an hardship constantly to perform that duty, it is become extremely disagreeable to them.

I forgot to mention, that, when we arrived at Fort

Herkimer, a letter was despatched to Major Hughs, commanding at Fort Schuyler, giving him an account of the force and route of the enemy, and of their boats lying at Onondaga Lake, that he might, if he found it consistent with the safety of his garrison, send out a small party to annoy the enemy on their march. By his letter to Colonel Malcom, I find he despatched a party of sixty men for this purpose, with orders to use the utmost precaution against surprise, or any thing that might prevent their returning to the Fort. Since my return from Albany a report prevails, that this party were ambushed by the enemy, and defeated; but from Major Hughs's cautious orders, and as I have no official accounts, I do not credit it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE CLINTON.

P. S. The enemy brought with them two brass mortars for four-and-three-quarter shells, which they concealed on their route from Schoharie. From some discoveries, we are in hopes of finding them.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOUGALL.

Fishkill, 30 October, 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency would long ere now have heard from me, but I delayed writing till I could give you some information of importance. Before General St. Clair relieved me, I had intimations, from some members of the Legislature, that they wished to see me before they broke up, which was agreeable to my in-

tention. When he arrived, I immediately went there, and spent a week with them till they adjourned, which, I am persuaded, was not ill spent. I gave them a particular detail of our public affairs, so far as I was capable, and alarmed them with our condition. It had its proper effect. They have passed very decisive laws for filling up their regiments for the war; but express their desire to Congress, that one of the five may be incorporated into four. They have also passed tax laws to the utmost ability of the State. The Commissioners, appointed to meet the Convention at Hartford, are men of enlarged minds, fully informed of our civil defects and inertness, as well as the feeble state of the army. They are instructed and empowered to agree on the necessity of a Continental Executive, with powers similar to those mentioned in the inclosure, number One.

In short, Sir, a great majority of the Legislature have a proper spirit for the times, and, so far as our safety depends on their exertions, we have nothing to fear. To remove all doubts of the intention of the Legislature in electing me a member of Congress, they were pleased to express it in a letter, copy of which I take the liberty to inclose you. It appears by it, that they consider my civil capacity but a secondary one to my military, and in this relation to the army I wish to be considered by the Commander-in-chief; and I beg that no unmilitary delicacy may be observed to me, while in the field, from my connection with the civil. Whether I am acting in the civil or military line, I have but one object, and that is, to promote the best interest of this distressed country.

I was honored with your favor of the 24th instant, which anticipates the application I purposed to make,

when I should be ready to go to Congress, and the campaign judged at an end. I now wait only for means to bring me out of Philadelphia, when it shall be thought proper for me to take the field. I own I fear, and have much reason to fear, I shall not be able, in Congress, to answer the virtuous expectations of the army and my fellow-citizens; but shall endeavour to do my duty.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.,

ALEXANDER McDOUGALL.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 31 October, 1780.

SIR,

On my arrival at this place, I laid your Excellency's letter before Congress, and addressed them on the business of the Southern department. I am happy to inform you that my appointment is perfectly agreeable to their views and wishes. But I am sorry to acquaint you that, from the best account I can get of the state and condition of the troops in that quarter, nothing is to be expected from them, unless large supplies can be forwarded from the northward. They are altogether without clothing and blankets, and totally unfit for any kind of service. To carry them into the field, in this condition, will only fill the hospitals, and sacrifice the lives of a great many valuable men. Arms are not less wanting than clothing, and wagons as much as either. Men, I believe, may be had, if it was in our power to equip them for the field. But how we shall do this, is difficult for me to imagine. Congress can furnish no money, and the Board of War neither

clothing nor other necessities. Indeed, the prospect is dismal and truly distressing.

I beg your Excellency to urge, unceasingly, the necessity of forwarding supplies for the Southern army, as it will be impossible to carry on a winter campaign without clothing. I have laid before Congress an estimate of our wants; but there is not the shadow of a prospect of their being furnished, unless constant attention is paid to the business. And I am apprehensive, as soon as I am gone, and no one left to urge our wants, they will soon be forgotten.

The late success of the militia against Colonel Ferguson, I am in hopes will be attended with good consequences. It will give a severe check to the Tories, and spirit and confidence to the Whigs. A report prevails this day that Lord Cornwallis has retreated precipitately from Charlotte towards Camden.

The detachment of the enemy, that sailed lately from New York, are landed at Portsmouth, in Virginia; and it is said the shipping are pushing up the rivers. The troops have taken possession of the great bridge, by which, I am told, they command all the lower counties.

How to employ our little force, if we are attacked both in Virginia and North Carolina at the same time, is difficult to determine. My first object will be to equip a flying army, to consist of about eight hundred horse, and one thousand infantry. This force, with the occasional aid of the militia, will serve to confine the enemy in their limits, and render it difficult for them to subsist in the interior country. I see but little prospect of getting a force to contend with the enemy upon equal grounds, and therefore must make the most of a kind of partisan war, until we can levy and equip a larger force. Such was the

difficulty of getting provisions and providing the means of transportation, that General Gates writes, in his last letter, that the army was in the utmost danger of disbanding.

Congress have invested me with the same powers they gave to General Gates, and annexed Maryland and Delaware to the Southern department. The arrangement of the army has taken place, and, I hope, upon a footing which will render it more respectable than it has been, provided the business of finance can be got into some regular order. But that is our weak side; and I wish our distresses may be painted in their true colors to the Minister of France, as he intimated to Baron Steuben that your Excellency did not appear to be apprehensive of any difficulty from the state of our affairs.

I have made application to the merchants of this city for clothing for the Southern army; but they excused themselves, as having engaged more already than they can perform. I intend to try to put subscriptions on foot in Maryland and Virginia for the purpose of supplying clothing. Whether it will produce any good or not, time only can determine. At any rate I shall have the satisfaction of having done all in my power; and if there is not public spirit enough in the people to defend their liberties, they will deserve to be slaves.

General Knox promised to send forward a company of artillery, if your Excellency approved thereof. I wish they may come forward, without loss of time. This State have promised to lend me one thousand stand of arms, upon a promise of their being replaced, which I beg your Excellency to give an order for, as this was the only footing they could be obtained upon. I have the honor to be, &c.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 3 November, 1780.

SIR,

Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens is very anxious to join the Southern army, as soon as he gets exchanged. His knowledge of the Southern States, and of the customs and manners of the people, will render his services very necessary in that quarter.*

Congress have passed a resolution authorizing me to make exchanges. I could wish to know your Excellency's intentions in this business, as it is my wish to regulate my conduct agreeably to your views.

The arms we are likely to get from the Board of War and this State fall far short of my expectations. The whole will not exceed fifteen hundred. I must beg your Excellency, therefore, to forward us three or four thousand from the Eastern States, as it is impossible to get them here. We are not less deficient in cartouch-boxes than arms.

I am apprehensive the difficulty of forming a large body of cavalry in Virginia, will be much greater than I imagined. I wish, therefore, if it was possible, the Duke de Lauzun's legion might be detached to serve with the Southern army, provided it can be done consistently with the views of Count Rochambeau. The British might receive a deadly blow in Virginia, if Count Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay would suddenly embark their troops, and land in Virginia. The enemy's fleet there is much inferior to that of

* Colonel Laurens was among the prisoners at the capitulation of Charleston. He did not join the Southern army at this time. On the 23d of December he was appointed a special Minister to France, for the purpose of soliciting aids from the French Court. On this mission he was absent less than seven months. See *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, Vol. IX. p. 195.

the French ; and the land force of the former greatly inferior to the latter, when joined by the troops levying in Virginia, and the militia of the country. But this will be thought too hazardous, perhaps.

I am, &c., &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 3 November, 1780.

SIR,

Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the 25th ultimo, the enemy have withdrawn their force from the north side of James River, and have taken post at Portsmouth, which, we learn, they are fortifying. Their highest post is Suffolk, where there is a very narrow and defensible pass, between Nansemond River and the Dismal Swamp, which covers the country below from being entered by us. More accurate information of their forces than we at first had, gives us reason to suppose them to be from twenty-five hundred to three thousand, of which between sixty and seventy are cavalry. They are commanded by General Leslie, and were convoyed by the *Romulus*, of forty guns, the *Blonde* of thirty-two, the *Delight* sloop of sixteen, a twenty-gun ship of John Goodrich's, and two row galleys, commanded by Commodore Gayton. We are not yet assured that they have landed their whole force. Indeed, they give out, themselves, that, after drawing the force of this State to Suffolk, they mean to go to Baltimore. Their movements here had induced me to think they came in expectation of meeting with Lord Cornwallis in this country ; that his precipitate retreat has left

them without a concerted object, and that they were waiting further orders. Information of this morning says, that, on being informed of Lord Cornwallis's retreat, and a public paper produced to them wherein were printed the several despatches, which brought this intelligence from General Gates, they unladed a vessel and sent her off to Charleston immediately. The fate of this army of theirs hangs on a very slender naval force indeed.

The want of barracks at Fort Frederic, as represented by Colonel Wood, the difficulty of getting wagons sufficient to move the whole Convention troops at once, and the state of unreadiness in which the regiment of guards is, have induced us to think that it will be better to remove those troops in two divisions; and, as the whole danger of desertion to the enemy, and of correspondence with the disaffected in our southern counties, is from the British only (for, from the Germans, we have no apprehensions on either head), we have advised Colonel Wood to move on the British in the first division, and to leave the Germans, in their present situation, to form a second division, and to be moved so soon as barracks may be erected at Fort Frederic. By these means the British may march immediately, under the guard of Colonel Crockett's battalion, while Colonel Taylor's regiment of guards remain with the Germans. I cannot suppose that this will be deemed such a separation as is provided against by the Convention, nor that their officers will wish to have the whole troops crowded together into barracks, which probably are not sufficient for half of them. Should they, however, insist on their being kept together, I suppose it would be the opinion that the second division should follow the first as closely as possible, and that

their being exposed to a want of covering would, in that case, justly be imputable to themselves only. The delay of the second division will lessen the distress for provisions, which may, perhaps, take place on their first going to the new post, before matters have got into a regular train.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. By a letter from Colonel Wood, received since writing the above, I am informed the British Conventioners are eight hundred and four, rank and file. He does not mention the present number of the Germans; in May last, they were fifteen hundred and three, including officers.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 10 November, 1780.

SIR,

I inclose to your Excellency a copy of an intercepted letter from Major-General Leslie to Lord Cornwallis. It was taken on a person endeavouring to pass through the country from Portsmouth towards Carolina. When he was apprehended, and a proposal made to search him, he readily consented to be searched; but, at the same time, was observed to put his hand into his pocket and carry something towards his mouth, as if it were a quid of tobacco. It was examined and found to be a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, written on silk paper, rolled up in gold-beater's skin, and nicely tied at each end, so as not to be larger than a goose-quill. As this is the

first authentic disclosure of their purpose in coming here, and may serve to found, with somewhat more of certainty, conjectures of their future movements, while their disappointment in not meeting with Lord Cornwallis may occasion new plans at New York, I thought it worthy of communication to your Excellency.*

Some deserters were yesterday taken, said to be of the British Convention troops, who had found means to get to the enemy at Portsmouth, and were seventy or eighty miles on their way back to the barracks when they were taken. They were passing under the guise of deserters from Portsmouth.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 12 November, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

You will, I doubt not, forgive my neglect in not writing you, when I assure you that I have had nothing to communicate which could give you pleasure, or avoid giving you pain; and, that I was unwilling to add to the pressure which your mind has been so long accustomed to. To enumerate the evils which have flowed from party spirit, from inattention,

* The following is the intercepted letter, here referred to.

“Portsmouth, Virginia, 4 November, 1780.

“MY LORD,

“I have been here near a week, establishing a post. I wrote to you to Charleston, and by another messenger by land. I can't hear, for a certainty, where you are. I wait your orders. The bearer is to be handsomely rewarded, if he brings me any note or mark from your Lordship.

A. L.”

and from other sources, would fill a volume in folio. We are now struggling to extricate ourselves from those difficulties into which our folly or our prejudices have thrown us. Perhaps we may succeed. Some advances have been made toward a reformation; many more will shortly be attempted.

The army is arranged, I hope, agreeably to your Excellency's wish. The officers have half-pay for life; the States are called upon for men and specific supplies; loans are demanded; the several departments are arranging; the expensive Naval and other Boards will be demolished, economy introduced, and, I trust, specie will relieve paper bills from the task of deceiving mankind, and yield to every man his just demand. Party spirit, though not annihilated, is compelled to hide its head; and jealousy of the army, which has long obstructed salutary measures, dare not appear in public. I know it is late for a reformation to commence, but I hope not too late. I lament exceedingly the distresses of our army, and will cheerfully contribute every thing in my power to relieve them, or so lighten that burden which I know your Excellency must feel, provided I could have the honor of a line from you, pointing out the evils, and the mode you would have adopted for redress.

I feel, very sensibly for the Southern States, and fear either a conquest by force, or a defection, which will bring about a base submission. We are informed that Clinton is about to embark, with great part of his army, for Virginia. Should this event take place, I fear the loss of the four Southern States will be the consequence.

To prevent this, I beg leave to submit to your Excellency's consideration, whether it would not be prudent to order the French fleet to Boston, where

they may lie in safety, and call the French army to head-quarters. Will not this cause Sir Henry to tremble for New York, and diminish the force, if not totally prevent, the blow meditated against the Southern States? These are only hints, which arise from my zeal to save the Southern States, and which, however unmilitary and injudicious they may appear, I flatter myself your Excellency will readily pardon.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Light Camp, 13 November, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

In revolving in my mind the chances of discovery by moonlight, and, on the other hand, the inconveniences of staying longer than you wish under our tents, I have thought if there was any position which might enable us to take advantage of the first hours of the night. How far the sending of the Pennsylvanians towards Aquakanac, and going ourselves to the Hackensac position, may awaken the enemy, I cannot pretend to say. The most difficult affair in this, would be the article of the boats. Colonel Smith will go to-morrow morning to West Point, unless any intelligence received at head-quarters had made it useful that the enterprise be attempted soon, in which case he would go and reconnoitre the place. Suppose he was to bring from West Point Colonel Gouvion, who has often examined the place with the eye of an engineer. These ideas, my dear General, have rather started into my mind than become fixed, and I thought I would communicate them.

Most affectionately and respectfully yours,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. The Marquis de Laval Montmorency, one of the most illustrious families in France, is on his way to the camp. The Chevalier de Chastellux, a relation and friend of mine, Major-General in the French army, is also coming. I every day expect my brother-in-law, and his friend, Count de Charlus, only son to the Marquis de Castries, who enjoys a great consideration in France, and has won the battle of Closter Camp. The duke of Lauzun has also written to me that he would come soon. These five gentlemen may, by their eminence at home, be considered as the first people in the French army. This little history I give you before their arrival, in consequence of what you have desired from me at the beginning.

I write some letters to the Commanding Officers at Fishkill, West Point, and King's Ferry, so that the gentlemen may be directed to come by the best road to my quarters, from which I will present them to you. I think the letters ought to be sent as soon as possible.

As General Heath commands in all these parts, I think, upon recollection, that I had better write to him alone. You might also send him a line on the subject.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Newport, 14 November, 1780.

SIR,

The Marquis de Lafayette has wrote to the Viscount de Noailles, his brother-in-law, and shows the greatest desire to see him. I find his demand so just, that, though I have given leave to several of our Colonels

to go and wait on your Excellency, I have added likewise the Viscount de Noailles, and the Marquis de Damas. If your Excellency does not find a moment to come and see this part of your army, I am afraid that the whole of it will desert, so great is their desire to see their General. I beg you will be persuaded of the extreme desire I would have to receive you here, if you can find an opportunity. The Chevalier de Ternay has sent back to-day Mr. Roger, Arbuthnot's Lieutenant, who was here for the second time as a flag of truce. He had kept him three weeks, pretty closely confined in his vessel, to weaken a little his desire of making us a third visit. He sends likewise a flag to New York, to carry some ladies. I am, with respect, Sir, &c.,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM GOVERNOR HANCOCK.

Boston, 17 November, 1780.

SIR,

I should very frequently have done myself the honor of writing to your Excellency, since the close of our correspondence on my leaving Congress, could I have prevailed upon myself to have drawn your attention from your weighty concerns; and am confident my silence will not be attributed to any other cause.

I am now called upon, by the free suffrages of my fellow-citizens, to take an active part in a sphere of public life quite unexpected to me; which call, upon the principles I first advanced, I could not withstand. One inducement, among many others, that led to a

cheerful compliance with this call, was, that it would afford me an agreeable opportunity of convincing you that no effort of mine should be wanting to promote your Excellency's views, with respect to a permanent army; as my particular station would lead to a correspondence on public concerns, to which I shall always be attentive, and shall be happy, on every occasion, to be informed of the situation of the army, and all occurrences, and to expedite the measures adopted by this Commonwealth for the accommodation of the army.

I am now more particularly led to address you, in consequence of a resolution of our Assembly, which I have the honor to inclose you, respecting the arms and accoutrements retained in camp by your order, which belonged to the soldiers of this Commonwealth, and at the expiration of their time were lodged in camp for the benefit of the United States, and no compensation made them. These soldiers are constantly making their application to the Assembly for a recompense for the loss of their arms and accoutrements, alleging, they were ordered to leave them in camp; and the Assembly are at a loss in what manner to proceed without some further knowledge of the circumstances. In order that they may conduct with propriety (as the United States must be chargeable with the amount), they have passed the inclosed resolve, requesting me to make application to your Excellency, to order a return to be made of all the arms and accoutrements that have been taken from the men belonging to this Commonwealth, specifying the names of the persons from whom such guns were taken or detained, and the regiment, company, and town, to which such men belong, in order that payment may be made to those who have benefited the

public by leaving their arms and accoutrements, and have hitherto received no compensation.

I am, therefore, to request that your Excellency will be pleased to give the necessary orders for the returns to be made, that the persons interested may, as speedily as possible, meet a compensation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN HANCOCK.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Richmond, 19 November, 1780.

SIR,

I am happy in the opportunity of answering your Excellency, that I am received and treated with all the marks of respect and attention that I can wish. Your letters have been of singular service; and I am exceedingly obliged to you for the warm manner in which you recommended me to the notice of your friends; among whom, Mr. Carey has been very polite and obliging.

Your weight and influence, both with Congress and this State, in support of the southern operations, will be exceedingly important and necessary to my success. I must request, therefore, in the most earnest manner, that your Excellency continue to animate both those bodies, with your opinion and recommendations, to such measures, and such exertions, as will be necessary to give due support to the Southern army, without which, I am very apprehensive, the languor that is too apt to seize all public bodies will lull them into a state of false security, and the affairs in the Southern department will and must go to ruin. It has been my opinion for a long time, that personal

influence must supply the defects of civil constitution; but I have never been so fully convinced of it as on this journey. I believe the views and wishes of the great body of the people are entirely with us. But remove the personal influence of a few, and they are a lifeless and inanimate mass, without direction, or spirit to employ the means they possess, for their own security.

I cannot contemplate my own situation without the greatest degree of anxiety. I am far removed from almost all my friends and connections, and have to prosecute a war in a country, in the best state attended with almost insurmountable difficulties, but doubly so now, from the state of our finances and the loss of public credit. How I shall be able to support myself, under all these embarrassments, God only knows! My only consolation is, that if I fail, I hope it will not be accompanied with any peculiar marks of personal disgrace. Censure and reproach ever follow the unfortunate. This I expect, if I don't succeed; and it is only in the degree, not in the entire freedom, that I console myself. The ruin of my family is what hangs most heavy upon my mind. My fortune is small, and misfortune or disgrace to me must be ruin to them.

I beg your Excellency will do me the honor to forward the inclosed letter to Mrs. Greene, by the first safe conveyance, who is rendered exceedingly unhappy at my going to the southward.

Mr. Custis arrived in town yesterday, and says Mrs. Washington is to set out for the army this day.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

P. S. Colonel Scammell, perhaps, will be promoted

to the rank of Brigadier; at least, it has been talked of. Should this take place, a new Adjutant-General will be necessary; and I beg leave to suggest the propriety of giving this appointment to Colonel Hamilton. His services may not be less important to your Excellency in your family business, if he only employs a deputy extraordinary; and I am persuaded the appointment will be received with great gratitude, as I am confident it is his wish, by what he said to me before I left camp.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

22 November, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Some time last fall, when I spoke to your Excellency about going to the southward, I explained to you candidly my feelings with respect to military reputation, and how much it was my object to act a conspicuous part in some enterprise that might perhaps raise my character as a soldier above mediocrity. You were so good as to say you would be glad to furnish me with an occasion. When the expedition to Staten Island was on foot, a favorable one seemed to offer. There was a battalion without a Field-Officer, the command of which I thought, as it was accidental, might be given to me without inconvenience. I made an application for it through the Marquis, who informed me of your refusal, on two principles; one, that giving me a whole battalion might be a subject of dissatisfaction; the other, that, if an accident should happen to me in the present state of your family, you would be embarrassed for the necessary assistance.

The project you now have in contemplation, affords another opportunity. I have a variety of reasons that press me to desire ardently to have it in my power to improve it. I take the liberty to observe that the command may now be proportioned to my rank, and that the second objection ceases to operate, as, during the period of establishing our winter-quarters, there will be a suspension of material business; besides which, my peculiar situation will, in any case, call me away from the army in a few days, and Mr. Harrison may be expected back early next month.

My command may consist of an hundred and fifty or two hundred men, composed of fifty men of Major Gibbs's corps, fifty from Colonel Meigs's regiment, and fifty or an hundred more from the light infantry; Major Gibbs to be my Major. The hundred men from here may move on Friday morning towards , which will strengthen the appearances for Staten Island, to form a junction on the other side of the Passaic.

I suggest this mode to avoid the complaints that might arise from composing my party wholly of the light infantry, which might give umbrage to the officers of that corps, who, on this plan, can have no just subject for it.

The primary idea may be, if circumstances permit, to attempt, with my detachment, Bayard's Hill. Should we arrive early enough to undertake it, I should prefer it to any thing else, both for the brilliancy of the attempt, in itself, and the decisive consequences of which its success would be productive. If we arrive too late to make this eligible (as there is reason to apprehend), my corps may form the van of one of the other attacks; and Bayard's Hill will be a pretext for my being employed in the affair, on

a supposition of my knowing the ground, which is partly true.

I flatter myself, also, that my military character stands so well in the army as to reconcile the officers in general to the measure. All circumstances considered, I venture to say, any exception which might be taken would be unreasonable.

I take this method of making the request, to avoid the embarrassment of a personal explanation. I shall only add, that, however much I have the matter at heart, I wish your Excellency entirely to consult your own inclination, and not, from a disposition to oblige me, to do any thing that may be disagreeable to you. It will, nevertheless, make me peculiarly happy if your wishes correspond with mine. I have the honor to be, very sincerely and respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 26 November, 1780.

SIR,

I have been honored by your Excellency's letter of the 8th instant. Having found it impracticable to move suddenly the whole Convention troops, British and Germans, and it being represented that there could not immediately be covering provided for them all at Fort Frederic, we concluded to march off the British first, from whom was the principal danger of desertion, and to permit the Germans, who show little disposition to join the enemy, to remain in their present quarters, till something further be done. The

British accordingly marched on the 20th instant; they cross the Blue Ridge at the Rock-Fish Gap, and proceed along that valley.

I am to apprise your Excellency, that the officers of every rank, both British and German, but particularly the former, have purchased, within this State, some of the finest horses in it. You will be pleased to determine whether it will be proper that they carry them within their lines. I believe the Convention of Saratoga entitles them to keep the horses they then had; but I presume none of the line, below the rank of Field-Officers, had a horse.

Considering that the British will be now at Fort Frederic, and the Germans in Albemarle, Alexandria seems to be the most central point to which there is navigation. Would it not, therefore be better that the flag-vessel, solicited by General Phillips, should go to that place? It is about equally distant from the two posts. The roads to Albemarle are good. I know not how those are which lead to Fort Frederic.

Your letter, referring me to General Greene for the mode of constructing light, portable boats, unfortunately did not come to hand till he had left us. We had before determined to have something done in that way; and, as they are still unexecuted, we should be greatly obliged by any draughts or hints which could be given by any body, within the reach of your Excellency.

I received advice that, on the 22d instant, the enemy's fleet got all under way, and were standing towards the Capes. As it still remained undecided whether they would leave the Bay or turn up it, I waited the next stage of information, that you might so far be enabled to judge of their destination. This I hourly expected, but it did not come till this even-

ing, when, I am informed, they all got out to sea in the night of the 22d. What course they steered afterwards, is not known. I must do their General and Commodore the justice to say, that, in every case, to which their influence or attention could reach, as far as I have been well informed, their conduct was such as does them the greatest honor. In the few instances of unnecessary and wanton devastation which took place, they punished the aggressors.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM JOSIAH QUINCY.

Braintree, 27 November, 1780.

I am happy to hear, by my worthy friend Dr. Crosby, that my last letter to your Excellency, with the papers inclosed, was not only favorably received, but revived the remembrance of one whom you are so good as to rank among the number of your friends. Would to God my abilities were equal to my inclinations! For, then, I would endeavour to render myself worthy of that honor by some eminent public services in defence of my injured country. But alas! threescore years and ten are past with me. All, therefore, that remains in my power is, to pray for the continuance of that Divine protection, which has hitherto so remarkably preserved your invaluable life from the secret machinations of perfidious friends and the open violence of declared enemies, till the harvest of your indefatigable labors shall ultimately issue to your immortal honor in the salvation of your country.

Our new-formed Supreme Legislative has postponed all other business to filling up our quota of troops

during the continuance of the war. It is devoutly to be wished that the ways and means to be devised for this purpose may be effectual, and equal to the importance of the object. But, for my own part, I am utterly unable to discover where they may be found. Our new paper money, issued by recommendation of Congress, no sooner began to circulate, than two dollars of it were given for a hard one. To restore the credit of paper, by making it a lawful tender, by regulating acts, or by taxes, are political manœuvres that have already proved abortive, and for this obvious reason,—that, in the same proportion as ideal money is forced into currency, it must, from the nature of every thing fraudulent, be forced out of credit. I have said, “from the nature of every thing *fraudulent*,” because I am firmly of the opinion, and think it entirely defensible, that there never was a paper pound, a paper dollar, or a paper promise of any kind, that ever yet obtained a general currency. but by force or fraud, generally by both.

That the army has been grossly cheated; that creditors have been infamously defrauded; that the widow and fatherless have been oppressively wronged and beggared; that the gray hairs of the aged and the innocent, for want of their just dues, have gone down with sorrow to their graves, in consequence of our disgraceful depreciated paper currency,—may now be affirmed, without hazard of refutation; and, I wish it could be said, with truth, that the war has not thereby been protracted. May it not, therefore, be safely concluded that no kind of paper currency is adequate to the purpose of collecting and combining the forces of these United States for their common defence?

That our resources are equal to the exigencies of

the whole, I have not the least doubt; but we have wandered so far out of the right road, that I fear it is become extremely difficult to find it again. To speak without a figure, fictitious wealth, that represents nothing but taxes, to be made a medium of trade or measure of commerce, an adequate reward for public services, and an equivalent for specie borrowed, either on public or private contract, before ever such fictitious wealth had an existence,—is certainly going out of the road of truth and justice. By consequence, the further we go, the more difficult it will be to return. But return we must, and that speedily, to the exercise of both; otherwise, it requires no great sagacity to foresee that our ruin is inevitable.

Should your Excellency ask how it is to be done, my answer is short and easy;—by reversing our public conduct, in almost every instance since the war began. Permit me to mention one. Instead of a C—s become despicable, for want of power sufficient *to do right*, or odious by exercising an assumed power *beyond right*, had both the civil and military department been united in one and the same person during the war, and under the limitation as well as sanction of law;—had this measure, I say, been adopted at first, it is more than probable our alliance with France would not only have commenced sooner, but it would have been no sooner ratified and confirmed, than the war would have been ended. Other instances might be given, though, perhaps, not of equal importance.

But I find, whilst I am reprehending my superiors for going out of the right road, I am insensibly led out of it myself. Be so good, therefore, as to excuse my intemperate zeal; and believe me to be, &c.,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paramus, 28 November, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

We arrived last night at this place, and were much favored by the weather in our recognizing of the Island, where, I confess, my feelings were different from what I had experienced when looking at these forts with a hopeful eye. I saw the fatal sentry, alluded to by Colonel Gouvion, on an upper battery of Jeffery's Hook. I also saw a small vessel playing off this Hook; but quite a trifling thing, without guns, and but two men on board. Nothing else on the river but the usual guards of Spiten Devil.

As you have been pleased to consult me on the choice of an Adjutant-General, I will repeat, here, my dear General, that, though I have a claim upon General Hand, in every other point of view, his zeal, obedience, and love of discipline, have given me a very good opinion of him. Colonel Smith has been by me wholly employed in that line, and I can assure you that he will perfectly answer your purpose.

Unless, however, you were to cast your eye on a man who, I think, would suit better than any other in the world. Hamilton is, I confess, the officer whom I should like to see in that station. With equal advantages, his services deserve from you the preference to any other. His knowledge of your opinions and intentions on military arrangements; his love of discipline; the superiority he would have over all the others, principally when both armies shall operate together; and his uncommon abilities,—are calculated to render him perfectly agreeable to you. His utility would be increased by this preferment; and on other points

he could render important services. An Adjutant-General ought always to be with the Commander-in-chief. Hamilton should, therefore, remain in your family; and his great industry in business would render him perfectly serviceable under all circumstances. On every public or private account, my dear General, I would advise you to take him.

I shall, on my arrival at Philadelphia, write you how those matters are going, upon which I build my private schemes. But I heartily wish that some account or other from Europe may enable you to act, this winter, on maritime operations. I hate the idea of being from you for so long a time; but I think I ought not to stay idle. At all events I must return when your army takes the field.

I flatter myself with the hope of meeting Mrs. Washington on the road. Adieu, my dear General.

Most affectionately and respectfully yours,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STARK.

West Point, 30 November, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

The impaired state of my health and the situation of my family, together with the unsettled state of my accounts with New Hampshire, render my presence there, the ensuing winter, very necessary. I have never, as yet, settled my depreciation, nor received any cash, on that head, from them. I should be very glad to do it this winter, without which it will be in a manner impossible for me to subsist in the army.

The brigade that I have had the honor to com-

mand, are now ordered to join their respective States' troops; therefore it is not probable that it will be in my power to render my country any essential service until the opening of another campaign.

The many favors I have received, and the known zeal you have shown for your officers, together with your care of their interest, strongly invite me to ask the favor of absence until the spring. That this request may be granted, is the ardent desire of

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

JOHN STARK.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 5 December, 1780.

SIR,

I flattered myself that the clothing, destined for the army under the command of your Excellency, had at length arrived in the river, in the vessel of Paul Jones, or in one of those coming under his convoy; but I regret that you have not yet had that satisfaction. A passenger, who arrived in one of this convoy, told me that when this little squadron, which left France on the 8th of October, should arrive, they would bring but little clothing, being in great part laden with arms and ammunition; but he added that the *Serapis* is destined to bring the remainder of the clothing, and that we may hope to see the vessel arrive soon in our ports. I am anxious to have an opportunity of giving your Excellency notice of the arrival of these articles.

I have received certain intelligence that an expedition, composed of four thousand troops, convoyed

by eight vessels of war, departed on the 16th of October from the Havana to attempt an expedition against Pensacola. But it is thought that the terrible tempests, which they may have experienced on the passage, may have retarded the fleet.

Another expedition was to depart in the month of December, to attack St. Augustine. It was to be composed of ten thousand men, regulars and militia, and twelve vessels of war. I wish, sincerely, that the operation may meet with success, and thus make an advantageous diversion in favor of the United States in that quarter.

The Chevalier de Chastellux and the officers who had the honor of visiting you at head-quarters, desire me to present their respects to you. They hope to have the honor of seeing you again on their return.

I am, &c.,

LUZERNE.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 7 December, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 13th of October, and should have appointed the time and place for the immediate execution of Gamble, but both he and Davis had effected their escape, as I informed your Excellency in a former letter. The officers, who commanded the guards at the times they respectively escaped, were arrested, tried, and acquitted; and, therefore, I thought it unnecessary to trouble you with the proceedings respecting them.

I was applied to, to endeavour to intercede with your Excellency, to remit the sentence of Captain Beal; but I thought it too just, to say any thing

about it. The proceedings respecting Gosset were packed up, in a mistake. The Court-Martial sentenced him to be whipped; and, as your Excellency had authorized me to determine upon all proceedings which did not affect life, or the dismissal of an officer, I did not intend to have troubled you with the proceedings respecting him.

I have, for a long time past, had two parties in the country, commanded by Field-Officers, to impress cattle, and yet the troops are frequently without meat for several days together. Indeed, I am so well convinced that there is not half meat enough on this side the mountain for the supply of the troops, that I have thought it advisable to risk the sending a party of hunters to kill buffalo, at Little Kanhawa, and laying the meat, until we shall be able to send for it, which, I expect, will be in the spring.

The Delaware Chiefs have declared war against the Senecas; and Captain John Montour was immediately sent, with two Delawares and one white man, to bring a prisoner from their towns. At French Creek (Venango) he fell in with a party of eight Senecas, who, a few days before, had taken a woman and two children from Westmoreland county. He shot one of the Indians upon a raft in the creek, and the rest ran away; but, after a few minutes, one of them returned, under cover of some timber, and asked Montour who he was. He told them that he and his men were Delawares; that they were sent by their Chiefs; and that they might thank God the water prevented getting at them; when the Seneca expressed some mark of contempt, and followed his own party. This relation may be depended on. Captain Montour, with a party of Delawares, is now in pursuit of another

party of Indians, supposed to be Delawares, or Muncies, who were discovered by a Delaware runner, on their way towards these settlements.

I do all in my power to encourage partisan strokes. But, was I at liberty to give rewards, I have neither money nor goods to do it with. I can venture to say that I could, at any time, for a small quantity of goods, engage a very considerable number of Delaware Indians to go with me upon an expedition; and I believe that a considerable quantity would enable me to set the Indians at war against one another, so as to divert them from our frontiers.

Many of the inhabitants are uneasy to see any notice taken of the Delaware Indians, and once attempted to destroy a great number of them, who were under our protection, but were prevented by a guard of regular troops. I have hitherto made use of every address in my power to keep as many of them from joining the enemy as it was possible for me to do, in obedience to your Excellency's instructions; and I shall be very thankful for your further commands respecting them.

I am sensible that there are a great number of disaffected inhabitants on this side the mountain, that wish for nothing more than a fair opportunity to submit to the British Government, and, therefore, would be glad to have the regular troops withdrawn.

I have received the General Orders respecting the new arrangement of the army, and shall remit the arrangement of my regiment to General Wayne by this conveyance. I am a stranger to the intention of most of my brother officers; but, for my part, I am inclined to assist, to the end, in a work so nobly begun. I beg leave to return your Excellency my

warmest thanks for your continual care of the troops which I have the honor to command.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. A half Indian, of the name of Bawbee, brought me a draft of the works at Detroit, which I take the liberty to inclose. He dropped some hints of his being in British pay, and I confined him in irons, but know not how to punish him without bringing more trouble upon the inhabitants.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp Charlotte, 7 December, 1780.

SIR,

I arrived at this place on the 2d of this instant; General Gates having marched from this some days before me, with a part of the troops under his command, the rest being on their march to Hillsborough. General Smallwood was below this, about fifteen miles, towards the Waxhaws, where he had been for a considerable time, before General Gates marched from Hillsborough. On my arrival, I sent for him, but he was gone towards Camden, in pursuit of a party of Tories, and did not arrive in camp till the night before last. Immediately I called a Council, respecting the practicability of holding a Council of Inquiry upon General Gates's conduct, during his command in this department. The questions stated to the Council, and the answers of the members, are inclosed in the papers from number One to Five.

I wrote your Excellency, at Richmond, that I should

leave the Baron de Steuben to take command in Virginia, which I accordingly did, and to endeavour, if possible, to make an arrangement of that line. Since which I have not heard from him, nor whether the enemy have left Chesapeake Bay, or not. As I passed through Petersburg, an express arrived from below, with intelligence that the enemy had returned; but, having heard nothing further of the matter, conclude the report must have been premature.

To give your Excellency an idea of the state and condition of this army, if it deserves the name of one, I inclose you an extract of a letter, wrote by General Gates to the Board of War, number Six. Nothing can be more wretched and distressing than the condition of the troops, starving with cold and hunger, without tents and camp equipage. Those of the Virginia line are, literally, naked; and a great part totally unfit for any kind of duty, and must remain so until clothing can be had from the northward. I have written to Governor Jefferson not to send forward any more until they are well clothed, and properly equipped.

As I expected, so I find, the great bodies of militia that have been in the field, and the manner in which they came out, being all on horseback, have laid waste all the country, in such a manner that I am really afraid it will be impossible to subsist the few troops we have; and, if we can be subsisted at all, it must be by moving to the provisions, for they have no way of bringing it to the army. I have desired the Board of War of this State not to call out any more militia, until we can be better satisfied about the means of subsistence for the regular troops and the militia from Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis lies, with his principal force, at a

place called Weymsborough, about half way between Camden and Ninety Six; at both of which places the enemy have a post, and are strongly fortified. At Camden, they have seven redoubts; at Ninety Six, not more than three, but they are very strong. Part, if not the whole, of the embarkation mentioned in your Excellency's letter of the 8th ultimo, as taking place at New York, have arrived at Charleston, and, it is said, Lord Cornwallis is preparing for some movement.

I have parties exploring the Dan, Yadkin, and Catawba Rivers, and am not without hopes we shall be able to assist the army by water transportation. It is next to impossible to get a sufficiency of wagons to draw provisions and forage the very great distance we are obliged to fetch it to feed the army. The inhabitants of this country live too remote from one another to be animated into great exertions; and the people appear, notwithstanding their danger, very intent upon their own private affairs.

Inclosed, numbers Seven and Eight, are the reports of General Sumpter's last action, and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington's stratagem, by which he took Colonel Rugley and his party.

I find, when the Baron Steuben comes forward, there will be a difficulty between him and General Smallwood. The latter declares he never will submit to the commands of the former, and insists upon having his commission dated back to as early a period as he had a right to promotion. When that was, I know not, as I know of no principles of promotion, from Brigadier to Major-General, except their seniority or special merit. What is best to be done in the affair? Before I order the Baron to come forward, I wish your Excellency's advice in the matter. I fear

our army is always to be convulsed by extraordinary claims, and special appointments. They are exceeding good men. It is a pity a dispute should arise between them, so injurious to the service as it must be.

My ideas respecting the power given by Congress, for exchanging prisoners of war in this department, perfectly correspond with your Excellency's. I had no idea that it extended to the Convention troops, and, by my inquiry, only meant to learn your advice, so that my conduct might correspond with your views.

All the prisoners, taken by Colonel Campbell and others, have been dismissed, paroled, and enlisted in the militia service for three months, except about one hundred and thirty. Thus we have lost, by the folly, not to say any thing worse, of those who had them in charge, upwards of six hundred men. I am told Lord Cornwallis has lately made a proposition to General Smallwood for exchanging all the prisoners in North and South Carolina. If it is upon terms that are just and equal, I shall avail myself of it. For a great number of prisoners is a heavy weight upon our hands. I am too little informed of the resources still left in this country, and of the enemy's designs, to tell what disposition to make, or how to dispose of the little force we have in the field. I shall do the best I can, and keep your Excellency constantly advised of my situation.

General Gates sets out to-morrow for the northward. Many officers think very favorably of his conduct, and that, whenever an inquiry takes place, he will honorably acquit myself.

I am, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM JAMES DUANE, IN CONGRESS.

(Confidential.)

Philadelphia, 9 December, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I should not so long have restrained the expressions of a heart flowing with the most affectionate and respectful attachment, if care had not been taken to communicate our intelligence officially. In the mean time, I have never found it so necessary to devote my attention to the public business. Amidst pressing distresses, it will give your Excellency pleasure to be assured that Congress have deliberated with unanimity, and decided with firmness, and that every thing, within their power, is nearly accomplished for vigorous efforts in the course of the next year. If the States will draw forth their resources; if our ally will seriously coöperate, by assuming a naval superiority in the American seas; if we are seasonably furnished with the clothing, arms, and ammunition which we have reason to expect; and obtain the aid of money, which we have once more attempted to borrow;—if these circumstances in any tolerable degree combine, your Excellency will at last see a prospect, under the Divine blessing, of finishing the war with glory.

But it is obvious that we have many difficulties to encounter. Government, instead of possessing the confidence and the dignity necessary to enforce its counsels, is surrounded by clamorous creditors and insidious speculators; and, what is worse, the intemperance of our friends conspires with the malice of our enemies to render it odious. Congress may err; they are not exempt from State and personal prejudices; they are liable to be deceived. But nothing is

more certain than that, in the common cause, their intentions are pure, their zeal, their cares, their pains unbounded; and the time will come when, if their measures are not admired, they will be approved. Indeed, Sir, an honest and disinterested patriot requires uncommon fortitude to render himself responsible, in an hour of such intolerable licentiousness. Those who placed their happiness in reputation retire from a theatre, where, while they are tortured by public distresses, they are in danger of disgrace. The intrigues of speculators are more and more alarming. Our paper money lately suffered a convulsion, without any apparent cause, which threatened its total dissolution.

Not contented with the infinite evils which they have entailed on their country, they have practised their arts on the Cabinet of France, and with such success, that one of our Ministers received a formal intimation that the Chevalier de la Luzerne would be instructed to remonstrate against the act of the 18th of March, as a violation of public faith, and an injury to the trading part of that nation, which ought to be repaired. Mr. Adams has acquired applause by a memorial to Count de Vergennes on this subject, full of good sense and dignity. The necessity and the justice of that memorable system are vindicated by reasons and facts which force conviction. The capital figure which the French factors made in drawing on the depreciation, and their avarice in striving to exact specie for the nominal sums of the bills, when it is notorious that they raised the price of their commodities in proportion to the current exchange, are exposed; and it is demonstrated, that, instead of suffering, they greatly profited by that national calamity. Nor is the proper inference neglected, that a Government capable, in a free country, of executing a plan

so disgusting to the self-interested, must possess unlimited confidence, and be established on the firmest basis. I am persuaded that this seasonable representation will remove every prejudice, and prevent the effects of an attempt big with ruin.

Another great difficulty which embarrasses us, is the absolute dependence which we are compelled to place on the exertions of the States *individually*. A failure in one may draw upon us insupportable distress. If the supplies of provisions should be punctually furnished, the transportation alone is an expense of such magnitude that I never think of it but with anxiety, especially when we consider how deeply pecuniary taxes are anticipated, by certificates in the hands of the farmers. There is a remedy; but whether we have a sufficient degree of public spirit to apply it, can only be known by experiment. Why should not the opulent contribute the whole or a large proportion of their plate? Why should not the farmer break in upon his capital, if his annual produce is incompetent? Nothing is clearer than that this would be the truest economy, as a foundation would be laid to terminate the war by a great and decisive effort. These are resources in the power of every Legislature; and I shall think them inexcusable, if, seeing the necessity to be so urgent, they shrink from the burden. A duty on imports, exports, and prizes, will be strongly recommended by Congress; and, if approved by the States, it must produce a considerable revenue.

We have made an estimate of the national expense for a year from next January. Except the Quartermaster's branch, it is tolerably accurate. I should be happy if our means to defray it were certain and adequate; but this is not to be relied on, unless we

are effectually roused by a sense of our common danger, and the necessity of concluding, with glory and expedition, a war of devastation. Every liberal hand must be opened; every patriotic heart must be animated; every public and private effort must be exerted to strengthen and support our army, to give weight to our national counsels, and secure them obedience at home and reputation abroad. Without the first, the courage, perseverance, and military accomplishments of our General must be frustrated; without the last, it would be madness to hope for credit, alliance, or respect from foreign powers.

After a studied contempt of the power of our enemy, which has marked the progress of our contest, too great a dependence on foreign succour claims a rank in our political errors. I speak of the public opinion, exempting Congress, as I ought, from a share in this folly. Charmed with a revolution so friendly to the rights of human nature, and so humbling to the insolence of Britain, the people were too apt to imagine that the coffers of Europe would be emptied into our lap without reserve. But, to say nothing of the Dutch, experience has shown that the Spaniards, on whom we principally relied, are not to be moved by disinterested considerations. That Cabinet does not imitate the French in liberality. They view the contiguity of those States to the source of their treasures, and their rising greatness, with a sufficient degree of jealousy. They are cautious of our alliance, unless they can acquire solid advantages. They are courted by England, and tempted by offers which, though they cannot accept without sacrificing their honor, their family compact, and the esteem of the northern powers, they yet seem to countenance, as a means to lead us to concessions, of which we cannot

think without reluctance. On no other principle is Cumberland's residence at Madrid, or the dilatoriness which has accompanied the treaty, to be reconciled. With respect to a loan, if their inclination was ever so prompt, it appears to me either that their funds are not productive, or that their economy is even worse than our own. They might, however, interpose their responsibility, as they have already done for the bills which we have drawn and for the clothing which they have supplied; and it would afford us essential relief. These hints will open another field of embarrassment, the extent of which your Excellency will fully perceive.

I shall only add to the catalogue, that we have advice that Sir Henry Clinton has written to his Court for a strong reinforcement, or leave to retire from his command; that he has received an approbation of his conduct in flattering terms, and a promise of support; and that orders are accordingly issued for raising a regiment of cavalry and nine of infantry.

But, while we are called upon to examine our own circumstances with candor, lest we should be deceived by a false estimate, our enemies, it is evident, do not repose on a bed of roses. They continue to be disturbed by the spirit of independence which pervades Ireland. The Commons of that kingdom lately hesitated to agree to a duty, amounting to a prohibition on raw sugars from England. Yelverton, their patriot, declared that the Irish trade should, in all respects, be upon a perfect equality with the British. He rejected the idea of a disparity between the sister kingdoms with contempt, and threatened the courtiers that, if they persisted in their opposition, he would put himself at the head of the associators, and establish the freedom of commerce by arms. This is

an argument which carries conviction. Strange that in Ireland it should be consistent with loyalty, and in America be branded with the appellation of rebellion, and under that absurd idea serve to color over every species of inhumanity and vengeance.

In the West Indies, from the late destructive hurricane, and on the ocean, by a train of capital losses, the enemy have suffered most severely, and in the tenderest point, their trade, the source of their wealth and credit. Their internal dissensions, which, instead of being extinguished, are only smothered by the vigor which the temerity of Gordon threw into the scale of their Government, is a malady which hangs heavy upon their Administration. The Convention of the neutral maritime powers, which has aimed a fatal blow at the sovereignty of the British flag, and the imminent danger of their being involved in a war with Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, if they persist in a claim so odious, and of drawing down the resentment of their own subjects and universal contempt, if they relinquish it; the late insult, offered them by Portugal, in shutting their ports against their ships of war and prizes; the impracticability of their raising more troops in Germany; the favorable light in which our independence is viewed throughout Europe, and the evident satisfaction it gives even the princes, on whom they most relied, to see the British dominion, commerce, and naval strength circumscribed; their disappointment in not being able, by the most disgraceful sacrifices, to detach Spain from the war; their failure in ways and means the present year; the immensity of their national debt and current expenditures;—all these circumstances, combined with the necessity of renewing their preparations to oppose the belligerent powers at the

very moment they looked for submission from America, are more than sufficient to form a contrast between us and our enemies, by no means to our disadvantage; nor does it seem presumptuous to think that, if we endeavour to deserve the blessing, peace, liberty, and independence must, before long, crown our wishes.

I have drawn this letter to an immoderate length. Ascribe it to a desire of possessing you of my own view of our public affairs, as far as I am at liberty.

I will only add that the visit of the French noblemen has given pleasure. The Chevalier, particularly, recommends himself by his agreeable manners and literary accomplishments. Be pleased to pay my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington. I was greatly mortified at her passing through this town without my knowledge, as I wished to have done myself the honor of attending her to Trenton.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JAMES DUANE.

P. S. Your Excellency has remarked that the communications, with which you honored me on the arrangement of the army, hospitals, &c., have had their effect.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 13 December, 1780.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the subject of an expedition contemplated by this State against the British post at Detroit, and of receiving your answer of October 10th. Since the date

of my letter the face of things has so far changed, as to leave it no longer optional in us to attempt or to decline the expedition, but compels us to decide in the affirmative, and to begin our preparations immediately.

The army the enemy at present have in the south, the reënforcements still expected there, and their determination to direct their future exertions to that quarter, are not unknown to you. The regular force proposed, on our part, to counteract those exertions, is such, either from the real or supposed inability of this State, as by no means to allow a hope that it may be effectual. It is therefore to be expected that the scene of war will be either within our country, or very nearly advanced to it, and that our principal dependence is to be on militia; for which reason it becomes incumbent to keep as great a proportion of our people as possible free to act in that quarter.

In the mean time a combination is forming in the westward, which, if not diverted, will call thither a principal and most valuable part of our militia. From intelligence received, we have reason to expect that a confederacy of British and Indians, to the amount of two thousand men, is formed for the purpose of spreading destruction and dismay through the whole extent of our frontier, in the ensuing spring. Should this take place, we shall certainly lose in the south all aids of militia from beyond the Blue Ridge, besides the inhabitants who must fall a sacrifice in the course of the savage irruptions. There seems to be but one method of preventing this, which is, to give the western enemy employment in their own country. The regular force Colonel Clark already has, with a proper draft from the militia beyond the Alleghany, and that of three or four of our most northern counties,

will be adequate to the reduction of Fort Detroit, in the opinion of Colonel Clark; and he assigns the most probable reasons for that opinion. We have, therefore, determined to undertake, and to commit it to his direction. Whether the enterprise shall be at Continental or State expense, we will leave to be decided by Congress hereafter, in whose justice we can confide, as to the determination. In the mean time, we only ask the loan of such necessaries as, being already at Fort Pitt, will save time and an immense expense of transportation. These are, four field-pieces, six-pounders; three thousand balls suited to them; one mortar; three thousand shells suited to it; two howitzers; grape-shot; necessary implements and furniture for the above; one thousand spades; two hundred pickaxes; one travelling forge; some boats ready made, should we not have enough prepared in time; some ship-carpenter's tools.

These articles shall be either identically or specifically returned, should we prove successful. It is not improbable they may be where Congress would choose to keep them. I am therefore to solicit your Excellency's order to the Commandant at Fort Pitt, for the above articles, which shall not be called for until every thing is in readiness, after which there can be no danger of their being wanted for the post at which they are. Indeed there are few of the articles essential for the defence of the post.

I hope your Excellency will think yourself justified in lending us this aid, without awaiting the effect of an application elsewhere, as such a delay would render the undertaking abortive, by postponing it to the breaking up of the ice on the Lake. Independently of the favorable effect which a successful enterprise against Detroit must produce to the United

States in general, by keeping in quiet the frontier of the northern ones, and leaving our western militia at leisure to aid those of the south, we think the like friendly office performed by us to the States, whenever desired, and almost to the absolute exhaustion of our own magazines, give well-founded hopes that we may be accommodated on this occasion. The supplies of military stores which have been furnished by us to Fort Pitt itself, to the Northern army, and, most of all, to the Southern, are not altogether unknown to you. I am the more urgent for an immediate order, because Colonel Clark awaits here your Excellency's answer by the expresses, though his presence in the western country, to make preparations for the expedition, if you enable us to undertake it, is so very necessary.

To the above, I must add a request to you, to send for us to Pittsburg persons proper to work the mortars and howitzers, as Colonel Clark has none such, nor is there one in this State. They shall be in the pay of this State from the time they leave you. Any money necessary for their journey shall be repaid at Pittsburg, on their arrival there, or shall be paid here on demand. They should be at Pittsburg, without fail, by the 1st of March.

At the desire of the General Assembly, I take the liberty of transmitting to you the inclosed resolution; and have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and regard, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM GOVERNOR NASH.

Newbern, 14 December, 1780.

SIR,

I have just had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 6th ultimo. Your favors by Major-General Greene I did myself the honor to answer some time ago, and expressed how much the Southern States were indebted to you for your attention shown to their interests, and the appointment of the General to the command here; and have no doubt he will effect every advantage for us that we may enable him to do. At the same time I must observe, that the provision hitherto made by the Assembly of this State, in particular for the support of an army, is so inadequate, and the steps taken with regard to the currency and other matters of the greatest consequence, so void of policy, that I fear much distress must yet be endured before we shall become sufficiently wise for our own interests. The resolutions of Congress for filling up our Continental battalions, I have repeatedly, and in the most pressing manner, recommended to their attention; and have had the mortification, as yet, to find nothing effectual done. I hope your Excellency's letter to me on this subject, which I shall have the honor of laying before them in a few days, will move the Assembly to do something suitable to their rank as a sovereign State, and indeed absolutely necessary to their political existence. Of all their acts, respecting the great object of defence, I shall not fail to acquaint your Excellency as soon as I am afforded an opportunity.

Since the affair of Ferguson's defeat, which did the highest honor to the militia concerned in it, I hear the noted Colonel Tarleton has been defeated by an-

other party of militia, under the command of General Sumpter. The Board of War writes me, that in this action the British lost ninety men killed, and seventy taken prisoners; and that Tarleton himself was wounded, in two places, through the body, and his thigh broken. I have had the same accounts from gentlemen in different parts of the country; but, having it not from camp, I dare not give it as fact, though I much believe it.

I have not heard a word of the enemy landed in Virginia since they left that country. Immediately on their departure, I sent express to General Smallwood, to put him on his guard. The enemy have not been entirely free of trouble off Charleston, and on the coast in that quarter. During this summer, they have suffered very considerably by our privateers, particularly by open row-boats. These boats, with forty or fifty men on board, take almost everything that comes in their way. Two, who went in company, returned here this week, after a cruise of about twenty days, in which time they took and sent in twelve valuable prizes, besides burning, I think, four. They also did another important service; they landed in Georgia and took off a Mr. Young, the richest man and greatest Tory in that country, except the Governor. They also brought off a considerable number of his negroes. This Mr. Young is now a prisoner here. The action is exclaimed against by some moderate men. However, as it is exactly in the line of retaliation, I shall not fail to encourage it, unless I should be overruled.

There has been, lately, a second transportation of Charleston citizens to St. Augustine. Among these is Mr. Middleton, the younger. Even the ladies do not escape their vengeance. Mrs. Kinloch and Mrs.

Ben. Huger have written to me of their distresses. For the offence of permitting Mr. Pendleton, who escaped from Charleston, to stay a night in their house, they have been taken from their plantation at Waccamaw, and carried prisoners to Charleston, where they are now confined, and reduced from a state of the greatest affluence to want; and, to embitter the condition of Mrs. Huger (the lady of Major Huger, who fell in the siege of Charleston), she has lost two of her small children since she was separated from them, probably for want of care. But what I have mentioned are trifles, compared to their daily enormities.

I shall, on all occasions, think myself highly honored in hearing from your Excellency; and shall not fail, from time to time, giving you such intelligence as I shall think it necessary for our Commander-in-chief to know.

And I have the honor to be, &c.,

ABNER NASH.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Boston, 25 December, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was, in the evening of the 23d, honored with your Excellency's favor of the 11th. No measure has been left untried to save the question for filling up our battalions for the war; but every attempt of its abettors for that purpose (and many there were in the Assembly) proved abortive. The following short anecdote will point your Excellency to some, and, I think, the principal reasons on which the question was lost. A venerable gray-headed old gentleman, who has lost two sons in the war, rose in

the Assembly, and observed that the army must be filled up, and by our own children, who were afraid of becoming slaves, which they supposed might be the case if they engaged for the war. "We have," continued the old gentleman, "sons now grown up, who will readily engage for three years, and, by the time their services shall expire, others, now young, will be ready to take their places." These ideas so fully possessed the minds of the country members, that they supposed every attempt to fill up the army for the war would be ineffectual, serve only to waste the time, and probably prevent its being done, even for three years.

Though I am myself convinced that the measure is wrong, and that we had better have tried to have raised part of the number in the first place, and those for the war, yet I have the pleasing satisfaction to be fully convinced that those who were of a different opinion acted from the purest motives, and the fullest conviction that it was the most eligible. Notwithstanding the vote passed to raise the men for three years, or for the war, yet I have great hopes, from the encouragement given to them to engage for the war, in addition to the sum to be given for a three years' enlistment, and, from the disposition I find in the seaports in favor of the former measure, that great exertions will be made by them and others to carry it into execution. Indeed, this town has already secured about one third of its men for this term, and expect thus to secure the remainder.

The Assembly meets next week; and, if there is the most distant prospect that, on a revival of the question, it will share a different fate from its last, I am positive it will be renewed.

By looking back into the state of our finances, and forward to the expenses which will necessarily be incurred the next campaign, it is found that part of them must be provided for by direct borrowing. This, I think, will have a very happy effect; for, before we can be again trusted, we must rescind some former resolutions, which have not given all that protection and support to creditors which, perhaps, the Legislative body intended they should give; and adopt an enlarged system of politics, pregnant with the highest justice, the most permanent security to individuals. This will give dignity to Government, array the Legislature with confidence, and clothe the Executive with strength and vigor; for a government whose resolutions are equal will as certainly find support, as that men regard, and steadily pursue, their own happiness.

I am much surprised to hear that there is so scanty an allowance of clothing in camp, as we have had, for so long a time, not only a good supply on hand in Europe and the West Indies, but, as I have the greatest reason to believe, a sufficiency of clothes within this State, brought in by our privateers, to clothe our army at any time within these five months past, five times over. Our finances, I know, are in a miserable situation; but I cannot believe that those of the several States are in so ruinous a condition as to prevent the purchase of so necessary an article.

Though it always gives me pain to offer a sentiment, which may in the least cast a censure upon Congress, for I know they are embarrassed, and are not supported as the best good of the public evidently dictates, yet I cannot but suggest my belief, that the want of proper arrangements, in some degree

occasioned those distresses of our army, consequent upon a want of clothing. Either the Continental agents should purchase the whole for the army at large, or the several States should be left entirely to clothe their own troops, without the least interference of the agents; for, so long as it is the joint business of the agents and the respective States, a mutual reliance will occasion a failure of exertion in each. The former method is much to be preferred, because there would be a greater uniformity in the clothing of the troops, which will, among other conveniences, serve to prevent the existence of jealousies, arising from an apprehension of different usage. If an idea has ever been held up, that the Continental army is but the union of thirteen different armies, having different interests, and, in some degree, different pursuits, and of course, that good policy requires that each State should secure the affections of their own troops, and attach them to her particular interest, every step I wish might be taken to bury the sentiment in oblivion, and every measure tending to support it, if another can as conveniently be adopted, be by no means executed.

This, then, will stand as another reason why the Continent should clothe the troops of the respective States, or rather their own army. The business of clothing the army is exceedingly loose and irregular, so far that this State, even at this late hour, are uncertain, whether Congress expect that they are to clothe their own troops, independent of them, or not. As it is a matter of great importance, I hope Congress will be explicit and decided on this point. It is particularly necessary that they should be so, as it is supposed, here, that the late requisition of Congress for the specific articles and cash, together with what

they draw from the new emission, is the whole demand on this State; and, as I said before, part of this expense must be provided for by borrowing. Should Congress think it most expedient that this State, or the several States, should clothe their own troops and credit them for the expense, in the present requisition, I am confident that if they give orders to this State for this purpose, they will be immediately executed.

Colonel Henly assures me, that the goods are here, and that an immediate supply for the whole army can be obtained. Some have been offered him on credit. He has no orders to purchase.

To clothe all the troops of the Continent can now, I think, be easily effected. The inclosed will show your Excellency, what quantity of clothing has been lately sent on, and what remains on hand. I hope the matter will not be delayed a single moment, from an expectation of our receiving what we have in Europe, or the West Indies. The danger of the seas, and the risk of capture, are too great to justify the least suspension. Indeed, was it to arrive at the hour of our procuring a full supply, should we even then have more on hand than sound policy would direct? I believe not; but am rather of opinion that a provident people, under our circumstances, would store three times the quantity. If, on the whole, we should be ordered to clothe our own troops, I wish your Excellency's directions whether, if it can soon be effected, the recruits should be detained in the mean time, or marched on, without delay, to camp. In either case, I conceive it will be necessary to send a number of officers to Springfield, and to this town, as those will probably be the two principal places at which

the troops will rendezvous; for, if we mean to keep them from straggling, marauding, and wasting their time, they must be sent in bodies under proper officers. It appears to me, that it will be also necessary to detain some of the arms now here and which are ordered on, to be put into the hands of those on whom we can depend. They will serve as a guard to others of a different character.

The General Court have ordered, to each man, one dollar a mile, to enable him to march to camp; but it is so far short of the real expense, that it will answer no valuable purpose. Indeed, if it was adequate, I think no good would arise from the measure; for, I am confident, the men will not be got to camp unless they are marched under the care of proper officers, and different magazines established on the route, at which the men can be regularly supplied. I think there should be one in this town, one in Worcester, one in Springfield, and one in Litchfield. If your Excellency should be of opinion that the measure is necessary, I wish you would suggest it to the Governor, who, ever disposed to do right, doubts the propriety of his ordering these magazines from the specific articles called for by Congress. If these are not taken, it will be difficult to establish them.

There are some matters to be attended to here, in the military way, which seem to be the particular business of your Excellency, as Commander-in-chief, or the Commanding Officer in a separate department. Am I, Sir, as senior officer here, competent to such business? If I am not, and further powers from your Excellency should be necessary, and you should think proper to grant them, I hope, if it can be

avoided, an idea of my being Commanding Officer in this department will not be held up.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM GOVERNOR RUTLEDGE.

Cheraw, on Pedee River,
in South Carolina, 28 December, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I received your Excellency's letter of September 12th, about the latter end of October; and should ere now have transmitted to you an account of the several matters which you desired to know, if I could have obtained an authentic one; but I have never been able to procure such information, even of the enemy's force and posts, as I conceived to be so, till lately. That, I communicated to General Greene, who, I doubt not, made you acquainted with it. Inclosed is a state of their strength and posts at present, and an answer to the several questions proposed by your letter.

I presume your Excellency will receive from General Greene, by this opportunity, a return of the troops under his command. It is therefore unnecessary for me to say any thing on that head. But I cannot avoid lamenting that they are so few, and that I do not see the probability of their being soon much increased.

I am sorry that circumstances have not admitted of your detaching, to the southward, any force from the main army, or from the troops of his most Christian Majesty; and I fear that the effects of the enemy's possessing the two southernmost States much longer, will be altogether ruinous to many individuals

(some of whom are already reduced to the greatest misery and distress), and injurious to the common cause. Several, whose characters were much respected, have declared themselves British subjects; many others will soon follow their example, unless we speedily receive considerable aid. The unfortunate affair near Camden; the want of support ever since (for there has not been a Continental soldier in the State since that defeat, till within these three days); the little prospect of any; and the representation made by the enemy, of the inability or unwillingness of the other States to send any powerful aid,—have chagrined, and made unfavorable impressions on many, who were formerly our good friends.

Some of the staunch inhabitants of Charleston have been lately sent to St. Augustine, and others are to follow. The enemy have hanged many people, who, from fear, or the impracticability of removing, had received protections or given paroles, and, from attachment to, had afterwards taken part with us. They have burnt a great number of houses, and turned many women, formerly of good fortune, with their children (whom their husbands or parents, from an unwillingness to join the enemy, had left), almost naked, into the woods. In short, they seem determined to break the spirit of every man, if they can, or to ruin him. Their cruelties, and the distresses of the people are indeed beyond description. I entreat your Excellency, therefore, seriously to consider the unhappy state of South Carolina and Georgia; and I rely on your humanity and on your knowledge of their importance to the Union, for such speedy and effectual support, as may compel the enemy to evacuate every part of these countries.

I have pressed the Governor, and several members

of the Legislature of North Carolina, to raise its complement of Continental troops, according to the last requisition of Congress and the present arrangement of the army; and I am certain that Virginia and North Carolina might, with proper exertions, soon bring five thousand such troops into the field. But I fear that North Carolina will persevere in her old plan of drafting militia for that service, and am persuaded that no other recommendation or influence than yours, will prevail on Virginia to relinquish the same system, and to raise a respectable number of troops for the war.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp at the Cheraw, on the East side of Pedee,
28 December, 1780.

SIR,

In my last despatches, of the 7th instant, I informed your Excellency of my arrival at camp, and of the condition and situation of the army. I was apprehensive, on my first arrival, that the country around Charlotte was too much exhausted to afford subsistence for the army at that place for any considerable time. Upon a little further inquiry, I was fully convinced, and immediately despatched Colonel Kosciuszko, to look out a position on the Pedee, that would afford a healthy camp and provisions in plenty. His report was favorable, and I immediately put the army under marching orders; but the excessive rains, which continued eleven days, prevented our marching till the 20th instant. We arrived here the

26th, having performed the march with incredible difficulty, through a barren country, with wagons and horses altogether unfit for service. The probability that my taking this position would discourage the enemy from attempting to possess themselves of Cross Creek, which would have given them command of the greatest part of the provisions in the lower country, was another inducement to come to this place. It is also a camp of repose; and no army ever wanted one more, the troops having totally lost their discipline.

Before I left Charlotte, I detached three hundred of our best troops, and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington's regiment of light dragoons, under the command of General Morgan, with orders to take a position on the south side of the Catawba, near the fork of Broad River, where he was to be joined by three hundred volunteers, under General Davidson, and four or five hundred South Carolina and Georgia militia, under the command of Colonel Clark and Colonel Few. With this party, he is either to act upon the offensive or defensive, as occasion may warrant. This will straiten the enemy in their limits, and prevent their drawing supplies from the upper country. It will also give spirits to the inhabitants of that quarter, and enable them to form a number of small magazines in the rear of the troops (which General Morgan has particularly in charge), that we may have something to subsist on should we be able to advance hereafter in force.

Lord Cornwallis continues in the same position that he was when I wrote before, and General Leslie arrived off Charleston Bar the 14th; but whether he has landed any of his troops, I am not informed. The troops, mentioned to have arrived in my former letter, were only some recruits that came in with

provision vessels, not exceeding four or five hundred men.

General Gates left the army the 10th, and General Smallwood the 19th instant. The latter is gone to Maryland, with a view of forwarding the troops and supplies from that State, and to settle the matter with Congress respecting his right of promotion, being determined not to submit to the command of the Baron de Steuben, who is still in Virginia, very usefully employed in forming, and forwarding the troops from that State.

I have been obliged to send Major Nelson's corps of horse and Colonel Armand's legion to Virginia, both being unfit for duty, for want of clothing and other equipments; and the difficulty of subsisting them is much greater here than there. Before my arrival, General Gates made an attempt to employ part of Colonel Armand's legion, and fifteen of them deserted on the march from Hillsborough to Charlotte, which obliged him to recall them. I wish your Excellency's directions respecting this corps, as they are totally deranged, and cannot be fit for service for some time.

Two slight skirmishes have been fought with the enemy, since my last, one by a party under Colonel Marion, upon the Santee, and the other by Colonel Few, near Ninety Six. About twenty or thirty were killed and wounded on each side.

I will not pain your Excellency with further accounts of the wants and sufferings of this army; but I am not without great apprehension of its entire dissolution, unless the Commissary's and Quarter-master's departments can be rendered more competent to the demands of the service. Nor are the Clothing and Hospital departments upon a better footing. Not

a shilling in the pay-chest, nor a prospect of any for months to come. This is really making bricks without straw.

I am, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

P. S. This moment accounts have been received that General Leslie landed his troops at Charleston on the 21st instant, and, on the 24th, was at Monk's Corner, on his way to Nelson's Ferry.

The Cherokee Indians have murdered a number of the inhabitants on the frontiers of North Carolina. It is said the militia have marched against their lower towns.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

Mount Kemble, 2 January, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

The most general and unhappy mutiny suddenly took place in the Pennsylvania line, about nine o'clock last night. It yet subsists. A great proportion of the troops, with some artillery, are marching towards Philadelphia.

Every exertion has been used by the officers to divide them in their determination to revolt. It has succeeded, in a temporary manner, with near one half. How long it will last, God knows! I have ordered the Jersey brigade to Chatham, where the militia are also assembled, lest the enemy should take advantage of this alarming crisis. Indeed, the alarm-guns have been fired, and the beacons kindled, towards Elizabethtown; perhaps it was occasioned by our unhappy affair. I am, this moment, with Colonels Butler and Stewart, taking horse to try to halt those on their march towards Princeton. As a

last resort, I am advised to collect them, and move on slowly towards Pennsylvania.

What their temper may be, I cannot tell. We had our escapes last night. Perhaps we may be equally fortunate to-day. If not, adieu, my dear General, and believe me

Yours, most affectionately,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

P. S. Captain Billings is killed; Captain Talbot, mortally wounded; some others are also hurt. Major Fishbourn, who carries this, will be able to give you a particular account of last night's and this morning's transactions. I am happy to inform you that not an officer was absent on this occasion, nor have any of the soldiers gone towards the enemy. Their general cry is, to be discharged, and that they will again enlist, and fight for America, a few excepted. General Potter and Colonel Johnson, who were eye-witnesses of the whole, as far as it is yet gone, go express to Philadelphia.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Garrison, West Point, 7 o'clock P. M.;
6 January, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

The inclosed this moment came to hand, which I beg to submit to your Excellency. This will be forwarded at gun-firing in the morning. I detain the express, and wish your answer, if agreeable, by the return of the bearer, that Colonel Hull may have notice as early as possible. Colonel Thomas mentioned the matter in a letter to me yesterday; but, as it

did not come from Colonel Hull, I took no notice of it. If the plan should be approved, it will probably be necessary to furnish the militia with some ammunition. As to burning the houses at Morrisania, although they are a nest for the nefarious enemy, yet, as many of them belong to persons friendly to our cause, who have been obliged to abandon their habitations, it may not only be impolitic but injurious to do it. However, I will advise as your Excellency may think fit to direct.

I must confess, I do not well like the militia having so much to do in the matter. Notifying and collecting men from three regiments, among whom many disaffected persons reside, and upon the very line of the enemy, is very likely to give air of the design; and a knowledge of the design will tend to blow the whole. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM JOHN SULLIVAN.*

Trenton, 7 January, 1781.

SIR,

The Committee appointed by Congress to quiet the disturbances of the Pennsylvania line, &c., think it proper to inform your Excellency that they arrived at this place last night, after dark; and that President Reed, who acts in concert with us, has proceeded to the neighbourhood of Princeton, at which place those troops are now posted. We are happy

* General Sullivan was at this time a Delegate in Congress from New Hampshire.

to inform your Excellency, that some favorable appearances of a speedy and honorable, as well as a safe, accommodation have appeared in their conduct this morning, as they have given an earnest of their sincerity and intentions, by no means equivocal, by seizing a negotiator, sent to them from New York, together with his conductor, both of whom they delivered up to General Wayne, and have sent them out, under a guard, with their papers. They are actually now in the hands of President Reed; and we do ourselves the honor of sending your Excellency a copy of the terms offered them, in writing, by those emissaries. Should your Excellency have any communications to make to Congress relative to the present state and temper of the army, we request that you will be pleased to make them through us, and direct them to this place. I am, with the highest and the most sincere esteem and regard, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

By order of the Committee.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

Morristown, 7 January, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency has heard of the shameful defection of the Pennsylvania line; and I am very much concerned to inform you that, as yet, there is no prospect, that we know of, of any desire appearing in them to return to their duty. I happened to be in Philadelphia the day the accounts of it arrived

there, and set out early next morning, in company with the Marquis de Lafayette, to make trial of what influence we might have; but, though we were suffered to come into Princeton, and there was an appearance of satisfaction in the countenance of the troops, we were not allowed to have any communication with them. A Committee of Sergeants, who are doubtless at the bottom of the whole, have got the business into their own hands; and no person is allowed to speak to the soldiery, but through them.

Their demands are no less than an almost total dissolution of the line. They are, to the best of my recollection,—the discharge of all those who have been enlisted in the years 1777 and '78, and who received the bounty of twenty and one hundred and twenty dollars; immediate payment of their arrears and depreciation; and a general indemnity. General Wayne, in answer to those demands, made them such promises as ought to have satisfied reasonable men, looking only for redress of grievances, whether real or imaginary; but they were rejected; so that I have no doubt but emissaries from the enemy are amongst them, and believe that nothing but force will reduce them to reason. Unhappily, however, there seems to be no disposition in the militia of this State to come to that method; and it was the opinion of the Governor, and such members of the Legislature as we saw at Trenton, that they should be suffered to pass the Delaware. This I informed Governor Reed of, from that place, that he might have time to take the proper measures; but they seem disposed to keep post at Princeton. Whilst we were at the last place, Colonel Laurens came up, and we very soon after received a notice that our being in town was very disagreeable, and desiring us, for our own

safety, to retire; and our stay was afterwards limited to an hour and a half. As we had no prospect of being of service, we set off, lest they should think of detaining us. We have since heard that they have made General Wayne, Colonels Butler, and Stewart, prisoners; but the most alarming circumstance is, their having organized themselves, and appointed all the necessary officers.

There are still a few men at the huts, to whom I have sent this morning, with an assurance that they will be considered principally in whatever may be done for the line at large, and have directed that they may be collected and marched to Persipenny, to render their communication with the revolters more difficult; and have given directions for removing the remaining artillery and ammunition to Luckysunny.

We were unfortunate to miss Major Fishbourn, and have no knowledge of your Excellency's intentions. I thought it probable that you might have come down to this place. If that is not your design, I beg I may be favored with your Excellency's instructions; and am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

P. S. I have not learned that any movements of the enemy indicate an intention to enter Jersey; yet I cannot persuade myself that they will not endeavour to avail themselves of this disaster, though, perhaps, they may defer it until it is certain that force is necessary.

After Major Fishbourn's departure from Princeton, from a desire expressed by the Committee to confer with some of the Council of Pennsylvania, General Wayne sent an express to Philadelphia, requesting

some of that body to meet them. They were expected to arrive yesterday.

FROM JOHN SULLIVAN.

Barclay's House, near Trenton,
8 o'clock, evening; 10 January, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

We are happy to inform your Excellency, that the terms offered to the Pennsylvania troops are at length finally, and, as we believe, cordially and satisfactorily, agreed on; and, to-morrow, we expect the Pennsylvania line will be arranged in its former order. Constitutionally, no concession has been granted them, that the critical situation of our affairs did not warrant, and justice dictate.

As an earnest of their sincerity, they have this night sent to us, under a strong guard, the two spies sent out by Sir Harry Clinton, with offers of terms to them, who are now in this house, under a guard of the Philadelphia light-horse; and a Court, consisting of Generals Wayne and Irvine, and Colonels Butler, Stewart, and Major Fishbourn, are at this moment determining their fate. Several other emissaries have been sent out by Sir Harry, who have more prudently delivered their credentials to us; whether more honestly, time will determine. In short, the whole progress of this affair, except the first tumult, has been conducted, on their part, with a consistency, firmness, and a degree of policy mixed with candor, that must astonish every theorist on the nature of the American soldiery, and cover Sir Harry with shame and confusion, if not stigmatize him with the appella-

tion of the Prince of Blunderers, for having so illy succeeded in essays of this kind.

Commissioners appointed by the Committee of Congress, consisting of Colonel Atlee, General Potter, Mr. Blair, McClaneghan, and Captain Morris, of the Philadelphia light-horse, will proceed to-morrow to adjust their claims.

January 11th, 8 o'clock, A. M. The British Emis-saries are condemned, and will be executed this morning, at nine o'clock. The Commissioners are now sitting to determine which of the troops ought to be discharged, and which to remain; and we trust this day will complete the business. I have the honor to be, most respectfully, dear General,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
JOHN SULLIVAN, *Chairman.*

By order of the Committee.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 10 January, 1781.

SIR,

It may seem odd, considering the important events which have taken place in this State within the course of ten days past, that I should not have transmitted an account of them to your Excellency. But such has been their extraordinary rapidity, and such the unremitting exertions they have required from all concerned in Government, that I do not recollect the portion of time which I could have taken to commit them to paper.

On the 31st of December, a letter from a private

gentleman to General Nelson, came to my hands, notifying that, on the morning of the preceding day, twenty-seven sail of vessels had entered the Capes; and, from the tenor of the letter, we had reason to expect, within a few hours, further intelligence, whether they were friends or foes, their force, and other circumstances. We immediately despatched General Nelson to the lower country, with powers to call on the militia in that quarter, or to act otherwise as exigencies should require; but waited further intelligence before we would call for militia from the middle or upper country. No further intelligence came till the 2d instanc, when the former was confirmed. It was ascertained that they were enemies, and had advanced up James River to Wanasqueak Bay.

All arrangements were immediately taken for calling in a sufficient body of militia for opposition. In the night of the 3d, we received advice that they were at anchor opposite Jamestown. We then supposed Williamsburg to be their object. The wind, however, which had hitherto been unfavorable, shifted fair, and, the tide being also in their favor, they ascended the river to Kennon's that evening, and, with the next tide, came up to Westover, having on their way taken possession of some works we had at Hood's, by which two or three of their vessels had received some damage, but which were, of necessity, abandoned by the small garrison of fifty men placed there, on the enemy's landing to invest the works. Intelligence of their having quitted the station at Jamestown, from which we supposed they meant to land for Williamsburg, and that they had got in the evening to Kennons, reached us next morning, at five o'clock, and was the first indication of their meaning to penetrate towards this place or Petersburg. As

the orders for drawing militia hither had been given but two days, no opposition was in readiness. Every effort was therefore necessary to withdraw the arms and other military stores, records, &c., from this place. Every effort was accordingly exerted to convey them to the foundry, five miles, and to the laboratory, six miles above this, till about sunset of that day, when we learnt that the enemy had come to an anchor at Westover that morning. We then knew that this, and not Petersburg, was their object, and began to carry across the river every thing remaining here, and to remove what had been transported to the foundry and laboratory, to Westham, the nearest crossing, seven miles above this place, which operation was continued till they had approached very near.

They marched from Westover at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, and entered Richmond at ten o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th. A regiment of infantry, and about thirty horse, continued on, without halting, to the foundry. They burnt that, the boring-mill, the magazine, and two other houses, and proceeded to Westham; but, nothing being in their power there, they retired to Richmond. The next morning they burnt some buildings of public, and some of private property, with what stores remained in them, destroyed a great quantity of private stores, and, about twelve o'clock, retired towards Westover, where they encamped within the neck the next day.

The loss sustained is not yet accurately known. As far as I have been able to discover, it consisted, at this place, of about three hundred muskets, some soldiers' clothing to a small amount, some Quartermaster's stores, of which one hundred and twenty sides of leather was the principal article, part of the artificers' tools, and three wagons; besides which, five

brass four-pounders, which we had sunk in the river, were discovered to them, raised and carried off. At the foundery we lost the greater part of the papers belonging to the Auditor's Office, and of the books and papers of the Council Office. About five or six tons, as we conjecture, of powder was thrown into the canal, of which there will be a considerable saving by remanufacturing it. The roof of the foundery was burnt, but the stacks of chimneys and furnaces not at all injured. The boring-mill was consumed. Within less than forty-eight hours from the time of their landing, and nineteen from our knowing their destination, they had penetrated thirty-three miles, done the whole injury, and retired. Their numbers, from the best intelligence I have had, are about fifteen hundred infantry, and, as to their cavalry, accounts vary from fifty to one hundred and twenty; the whole commanded by the parricide Arnold.

Our militia, dispersed over a large tract of country, can be called in but slowly. On the day the enemy advanced to this place, two hundred only were embodied; they were of this town and its neighbourhood, and were too few to do any thing. At this time, they are assembled in pretty considerable numbers on the south side of James River, but are not all yet brought to a point. On the north side, are two or three small bodies, amounting, in the whole, to about nine hundred men. The enemy were, at four o'clock yesterday evening, still remaining in their encampment at Westover and Berkley Neck. In the meanwhile Baron Steuben, a zealous friend, has descended from the dignity of his proper command, to direct our smallest movements. His vigilance has, in a great measure, supplied the want of force in preventing the enemy from crossing the river, which

might have been very fatal. He has been assiduously employed in preparing equipments for the militia, as they should assemble, pointing them to a proper object, and other offices of a good Commander. Should they loiter a little longer, and he be able to have a sufficient force, I shall flatter myself they will not escape with total impunity. To what place they will point their next exertions, we cannot even conjecture. The whole country on the tide waters, and some distance from them, is equally open to similar insult. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

Camp, near Hood's, 11 January, 1781.

SIR,

I had the honor to address your Excellency the 8th instant, giving you a detail of what has passed down to that date. The enemy, lying still at West-over on the 9th, and some vessels which had lain at the mouth of the Appamatox, dropping down that day to their fleet, I thought it evident they had no design against Petersburg, and therefore ordered the few militia who were assembled there to march to Prince George Court-House, and went there myself, that I might be more at hand, to prepare against any movement of the enemy. The 10th, in the morning, I was informed they were embarking their troops; and, on reconnoitring them myself, from Coggin's Point, I found their embarkation completed, and the vessels preparing to sail.

It had been found impracticable to remount the cannon at Hood's, or to prepare any obstruction to their passing that place. Of this, however, the enemy were ignorant; and, thinking it very probable they would land a party to examine those works before they attempted to pass, I ordered three hundred infantry and about thirty horse, under Colonel Clark, to lie in ambush to receive them. About 12 o'clock the fleet got under way, and at 4 o'clock I saw them, from Hood's, come to, within cannon-shot. At dark they landed troops from eighteen boats, deserters (say five hundred), who immediately attacked a small picket we had, and pursued them to within forty paces of the ambuscade, when our troops gave them a fire; but, on their returning it, and charging bayonets, the militia immediately fled. After throwing the cannon into the river, the enemy returned to their ships, which, at daylight, were five miles below. I ordered three hundred infantry and two troops of horse down to Cabin Point, and encamped with the remainder, about five hundred men, at this place. As an attempt might be made at Williamsburg, and as General Nelson had only four hundred men, I ordered five hundred and sixty militia, who were then on their way to join me, to cross the river and reënforce him. The next great object for the enemy being Hunter's Works, and the stores at Fredericksburg, I wrote the Governor to countermand the militia from that quarter. General Weedon had already advanced with about three hundred and fifty, as far as Hanover Court-House, before he received the Governor's letter. It is left with him to return or not, according as he, from his knowledge of the force that can be collected, may think necessary.

I cannot yet form any judgment of the future ope-

rations of the enemy. Should they mean to pillage Williamsburg, Nelson's corps may harass, but cannot prevent them. If they take possession of Norfolk, I shall collect what force is necessary, and endeavour to keep them *en échec*. Or, if they should go into Potomac, I shall immediately march to form a junction with the militia under General Weedon, and cover Fredericksburg.

The militia are coming in from all quarters, but without arms, for which they apply to me. I have delivered about five hundred we had, belonging to the Continent. Those of the State were so scattered, in removing them on the alarm, that their officers cannot collect them again. The troops have neither tents nor camp-kettles. It is impossible to describe the situation I am in, in want of every thing; and nothing can be got from the State, rather for want of arrangement than any thing else. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

STEUBEN.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL DICKINSON.

Hermitage, 12 January, 1781.

SIR,

I did myself the honor of forwarding to your Excellency two packets from the Committee of Congress, which contained every occurrence worth communicating, and prevented my addressing your Excellency sooner.

Upon receiving the disagreeable intelligence respecting the Pennsylvania line, I imagined the enemy would have taken the advantage of those disturb-

ances, and have thrown a body of troops into this State. I therefore thought it prudent to make some disposition to receive them, as well as to answer another obvious purpose. Whilst the Pennsylvanians lay at Princeton, I formed a large body of militia between them and the Sound, a second at the Baptist meeting-house in Hopewell, a third at Crosswicks, and a fourth at South Amboy. This last body was composed of the Monmouth militia. Since their removal to Trenton, I have ordered those troops from the meeting-house and Crosswicks to move on to Princeton, where I intend visiting them this day. The moment an accommodation takes place between the Committee and the insurgents, I shall dismiss the militia, unless I should receive your Excellency's orders to the contrary, or the enemy (which I do not now expect) should make a descent into this State.

The two spies were executed yesterday, pursuant to their sentence, on a gallows erected just above Paddy's Ferry, in Pennsylvania. The execution was delayed some time for want of a rope and hangman; but, at last, the service was performed by a negro boy of Paddy. I was glad to hear this necessary business was ended.

The *great work* is not yet begun, although Commissioners are appointed and preparations making. From the best information I can procure, I am of opinion that about three hundred of them wished to join the enemy. They still persist in retaining their arms until discharged, which is so absurd a demand it can never be complied with, nor can I think they seriously expect a compliance. I wish the matter was finally settled. The difficulty of supplying the militia with provisions is very great. I use my utmost exertions to draw supplies from our county

contractors; but the scarcity of cash pervades every department, and gives me but little reason to expect much support from that quarter. Whatever orders your Excellency thinks proper to give shall be executed by

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
PHILEMON DICKINSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, on Pedee, 13 January, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter, of the 13th of December, came to hand this day. It is true I came to the southward in expectation of meeting with difficulties; but they far exceed what I had any idea of.

This country is so extensive, and supplies are so difficult to obtain, that it is impossible to carry on the war any length of time with the militia. The waste of stores, and consumption of provision and forage, must ruin any nation in the universe, whose revenue is not greater than ours. A good army, well appointed and supplied, consisting of four or five thousand infantry, and about eight hundred or one thousand horse, is what is wanted for the defence of this country; and without which it must be inevitably ruined and lost. With such a force, I think the country can be defended, with the occasional aid of the militia, against any force the enemy can maintain in this quarter. Neither they nor we can maintain a great force in this department, unless supplies can be had by a water communication. The country is so extensive, and there are such great barrens,

that the natural strength and resources of these States are unequal to the burden of maintaining a very large force.

The militia have ravaged this quarter in such a manner, that it will be with the greatest difficulty we shall be subsisted. The want of money is a great difficulty we meet with in supporting the army; but the want of arrangement is no less an evil than that. We have but a very little force in the field, and two thirds of them are totally unfit for duty; and, unless clothing arrives soon, I must disband them. I am persuaded, unless the States have it in their power to levy, equip, and support such an army as I have mentioned, these States are inevitably lost.

The detachment which your Excellency mentions as embarking at New York, are arrived at Virginia, as I am this day informed by Baron Steuben, and are almost as high up James River as Petersburg. We have nothing to oppose them there, except the militia, and about four hundred eighteen-months' men, as ragged and naked as the Virginia blacks. The enemy in this quarter are making great preparations for an immediate movement. Our troops are in such a wretched condition, that we can give them little or no opposition. We will do all in our power; but the soldiers have no spirits, and it is impossible they should, in their present situation. I wish the enemy would give us a little more time to prepare ourselves. However, I don't intend to be drove out of North Carolina if I can possibly avoid it; and, if Virginia will furnish the provision I have requested to be deposited upon Roanoke, we will hold one corner, at all events.

Baron Steuben wrote me, that he met with insuperable difficulties in his attempts to arrange the Virgi-

nia line. I have written to General Scott, at Charleston, to collect the wishes and intentions of the officers in captivity. If there are as many in proportion to their numbers, as there are here, who wish to go home, there will be few left. I have had the resolutions of Congress respecting specific supplies, and shall make my requisitions accordingly. Inclosed is an extract of a letter from General Morgan, confirming the account given in his former letter, an extract of which is inclosed in my letter to go by General Duportail, who has been detained a few days for want of horses.

It is my opinion, if the French fleet and army at Rhode Island could be induced to push into Chesapeake Bay, they would have it in their power to ruin the fleet and army with General Phillips. The Southern States are in a critical situation, and great exertions and some hazard are necessary to save them. This is not only my opinion, but General Duportail's. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN.

Arlington, State of Vermont, 15 January, 1781.

SIR,

I am exceedingly unhappy when I view the critical situation of the interest of the United States, and the great evils which attend the people in this quarter by the unhappy internal broils and contentions, caused by the disputes between them and the several adjacent States, which prevent that line of correspondence with your Excellency necessary to make

the common interest become mutual, and which, I am not insensible, puts it out of your Excellency's power to hold such correspondence as, I presume, from your known humanity and warm attachment to the liberties of mankind, would be otherwise granted with pleasure.

Notwithstanding I esteem it my duty to inform your Excellency of the perseverance of the inhabitants of this State in the grand cause of liberty in which they have embarked, and of the high estimation they entertain of your Excellency's eminent services as Commander-in-chief of the American arms (not to flatter), I am wanting in language to express their feelings. I can only assure your Excellency that nothing impedes their willingness to support your Excellency in the important trust of Commander-in-chief, at the risk of every thing dear to them, but a want of being assured, at the end, of sharing equal privileges with the United States.

It gives me pain to give your Excellency any intelligence which may, in the least, add to your burden. But duty to my country, and self-preservation, make it become necessary to present an official account of our situation in this quarter, so far as respects the interest of the common cause; for which I refer your Excellency to the inclosed letters, which are copies of those sent, as therein specified, and will give a particular relation of the subject.

I can only mention further to your Excellency, that many prisoners, inhabitants of this State, are in the custody of the enemy in Canada; and that, notwithstanding we have taken more than three times the number from them, it is at present out of our power to return equal numbers, having delivered prisoners so taken, from time to time, to the United

States. We are about settling a cartel for the redemption of our men in Canada, as before mentioned. I must, therefore, beg your Excellency's indulgence with a sufficient number of prisoners to answer such an exchange, should the Commissioners, appointed for that purpose, agree. Should this proposal meet your Excellency's approbation, a return of the number shall be immediately transmitted, and a compliance with any reasonable requisition that may be necessary to complete a matter so earnestly wished for by, Sir, your Excellency's most respectful

And most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN.

FROM MESHECH WEARE, PRESIDENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Exeter, 20 January, 1781.

SIR,

I am honored with the receipt of your favor of the 5th instant, by Brigadier-General Knox. Your Excellency's exertions and early communications of the alarming situation of our army, demand our most grateful acknowledgments, at the same time that the late revolt and the present critical situation of our army, give us the most anxious concern. Our General Assembly was sitting, when General Knox arrived. I immediately laid your letter before them, and General Knox was pleased to give particular information of the circumstances of the revolt and situation of our army. The Assembly immediately took the matter under consideration, and came to a resolution, immediately to collect a sum of money to be exchanged for hard money, to send forward twenty-four dollars for each non-commissioned officer and private in our

line, as a gratuity for their good services, and the sufferings they have been unavoidably exposed to. It was thought, by General Knox, that the New England States would go into this measure, and that it would give greater satisfaction than advancing some part of their pay. The money, I have no doubt, will be forwarded next week. It is the disposition of the General Assembly and people of this State to do every thing in their power for the support of the army. But we have not the means in our power, so much as some others may have.

I am desired, by the General Assembly, to request of your Excellency that, as we have a considerable number of men belonging to this State now engaged in Colonel Jackson's and Hazen's regiments, Major Whitcomb's corps, and sundry other regiments not particularly belonging to this State, that such men may be turned over to some one of our regiments, agreeably to the resolution of Congress, which would make it much more convenient in providing for and settling with our men. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
MESHECH WEARE.

FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Albany, 21 January, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I embrace the opportunity which is offered me by Colonel Hughes to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 10th instant, and most sincerely sympathize with you on the embarrassments which the disagreeable event in Jersey will occasion

you. It is an awful lesson to the States; and if it would produce a serious attention to their situation; if it would induce to greater exertions, and hence relieve you from the variety of difficulties which their torpor has occasioned you; if it would evince the necessity of parting with so much of their sovereignty, respectively, as would enable the governing power to draw forth the strength and resources of the country,—the event would be happy to America. But, if only alarmed for the moment, and no adequate means are pursued for the future subsistence and pay of the army, our cause is lost, unless another system of government is adopted.

Impressed with the necessity of lodging competent powers somewhere, to prosecute the war with vigor, and finding a disposition in the Legislature to second my views, I have moved, in Senate, to request of the Eastern States to join in a Convention, to be held at an early day, for the purpose of settling and adjusting every difference which may exist with respect to boundaries; to form a perpetual league of incorporation, subservient, however, to the common interest of all the States; to invite others to accede to it; to create a new State in this quarter, on conditions to be stipulated in such Convention; to appreciate the most effectual means for prosecuting the war with vigor; to devise a fund for the redemption of the common debts; to form a permanent and uniform system for drawing out the resources of the country, that we may not be incessantly exposed to the many evils incident on temporary expedients; and, lastly, to invest Congress with powers so extensive as to oblige each State to do its duty.

This motion is not yet decided upon; but I believe it will not meet with much, if any, opposition

in either House. Mrs. Schuyler joins me in best wishes to you, Mrs. Washington, and the family. I am, dear Sir, your

Most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, Pedee, 24 January, 1781.

SIR,

My public letter will inform your Excellency of the success of the troops under the command of General Morgan. The event is glorious; and I am exceedingly unhappy that our wretched condition will not permit our improving it to the best advantage. I shall do all I can, but our prospects are gloomy. Our force is small, and daily declining. We have no clothing or provisions but what we collect from day to day; and the enemy's late excursion into Virginia, I apprehend, will cut off our prospects from that quarter. I hope your Excellency will repeat your letters to Congress upon the necessity of filling the army, and forming magazines of provision and forage. We never can be fortunate but that it operates to our disadvantage; and above half the pleasure that results from the victory is lost in the apprehension that it will relax the preparations for the support of the war. I wish your Excellency to place this event in its true point of light to Congress; that if it stands alone it will be of no consequence, but, if properly improved upon, it may have the most salutary effects.

What your Excellency mentioned in your last private letter to me is very just; the Commanding Offi-

cer has a collective view of all the difficulties in the different departments. But, when I was with the Northern army, I had a pretty good opportunity of knowing the difficulties, from being at the head of one of the great departments, and from the confidence which you were pleased to honor me with.

In comparing the difficulties of the northern service with this of the southern, one bears but a small proportion to the other—whether from the make of the country, the divisions among the inhabitants, the difficulty of obtaining supplies, or the unequal force we have to contend with. And my spirits would sink under the load, was it not from a persuasion that, to whatever straits I may be reduced, or however unfortunate I may be, from the hazards I am obliged to run, your Excellency will do justice to my intentions. I have one consolation, which is, I have the confidence of the troops, and the good will of the officers. But the unsettled state of the different lines in point of rank, multiplies our embarrassments; nor can I see the least prospect of bringing them to a speedy close.

I hope Baron Steuben writes your Excellency respecting the enemy's movements in Virginia, as I have desired him to be very particular, and keep you constantly informed of every material circumstance. I beg my respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, and to all the gentlemen of your family. I am, with esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Boston, 25 January, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

As General Knox, who well knows the state of our affairs here, will be with your Excellency as early as this can reach you, I may omit many matters which otherwise I should think it my duty to mention.

I am informed that Congress have acceded to a general exchange, and that it is left with your Excellency to carry it into effect, at such time as you shall think proper. I know too well your Excellency's feelings for the distresses of those of our people in captivity, not to be convinced that the first proper moment will be seized to execute a measure which will so effectually promote the happiness of many, who, it appears to me, have deserved every attention from their country.

The inclosed is a list of a number of good men (not in the line of the army), who, before I left Charleston, solicited my interest in procuring their exchange. I wish, when an exchange shall take place, that these persons may be subjects of it. I have no doubt but there are many other citizens who wish to be exchanged. If their names can be obtained, I hope they will enjoy the same benefit. I am, my dear General, with the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, on Pedee, 28 January, 1781.

SIR,

In my despatches of the 29th ultimo, I did myself the honor to acquaint your Excellency with the disposition I had made to counteract the movements of the enemy, and to protect the country from their depredations.

Lord Cornwallis continued at Weymsborough, making every preparation, and completely equipping his troops for the most active operations, until the 9th instant; when, having been joined by the troops under General Leslie, he put his army in motion, and advanced as far as the Cross Roads, on the west side of the Catawba river, and about forty miles from Camden. The position which Brigadier-General Morgan occupies, was well chosen for harassing the left flank, and checking the progress of the enemy on the route they had taken for the execution of their plan of operations. This, I suppose, induced his Lordship, on the 11th, to detach Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton to dislodge him, and disperse the few militia who were collecting.

I have the satisfaction to transmit your Excellency a copy of a letter which I this moment received from Brigadier-General Morgan, announcing the total defeat of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton's detachment. The victory was complete, and the action glorious. The brilliancy and success with which it was fought does the highest honor to the American arms, and adds splendor to the character of the General and his officers. I must beg leave to recommend them to your Excellency's notice, and doubt not, but from your repre-

sentation, Congress will receive pleasure from testifying their approbation of their conduct.

Colonel Pickens was left on the ground, to relieve the wounded and to cover that part of the country. I am unhappy that the distressed situation of this army will not admit of our improving the advantage we have gained. But I hope it has given the enemy a check that will prevent their advancing for some days. Our supplies of provisions are growing more precarious; and the other stores, which I can only look for from Philadelphia, do not arrive in such quantities as to replace those which are daily destroyed in service. I have appointed Major Hyrne, Deputy Commissary-General of Prisoners for the Southern department, and ordered him to send all the prisoners of war to Virginia. The militia, under General Stephens, will take charge of them, as their time of service has already expired.

I have directed Major-General the Baron de Steuben to transmit to Congress and to your Excellency, regular reports of the operations in Virginia. I do myself the honor to inclose a copy of my letter to Congress respecting the action of the 17th instant. I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM JOHN MATHEWS.

Philadelphia, 30 January, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

As the intelligence received yesterday possibly may not be conveyed to you through any other channel

at this time, and being well assured it will afford you much satisfaction to be informed of it, I have therefore taken the liberty of communicating it to you. Though the information does not come officially from the State, yet it comes in such a manner that it is to be depended on,—that Maryland has at last agreed to confederate. We have the resolves as they passed the lower House, which have since passed the upper House. This is a most important circumstance, and comes very seasonably to our relief; for Congress have been disputing, for a long time past, what powers were necessary to enable them to prosecute the business intrusted to them, and were, at this moment, as far from agreeing about it as when we began. I hope, now we have some certain principles to act upon, we shall be steady and decisive. Though the powers of the Confederation are very inadequate to vigorous prosecution of the present war, yet we must endeavour to make the most of them we can; and it is better to have some authority to regulate us, than (as for some time past has been the case) have none.

Virginia has agreed to a cession of their back lands, with some reservations. This is also a very important matter, our present circumstances considered. I flatter myself it will give us some credit, which we stand much in need of, and may possibly give a spring to our affairs.

Congress have been seriously engaged, for the last ten days, in a Committee of the Whole, considering of the ways and means for defraying the expenses of the present year. They have agreed to call upon the States for a duty of four per cent. on all goods imported; the like duty on all prize goods; and one eighth of a dollar per ton on all foreign shipping.

This, it is computed, will produce about six or seven hundred thousand specie dollars. This is but a trifle when compared with our wants; but, however, we are going on.

Please to make my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington; and believe me to be, my dear General, yours &c.,

JOHN MATHEWS.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Boston, 4 February, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Upon my arrival here the 25th ultimo, I found that men and money were still wanting to fit the Alliance frigate for sea. I immediately insisted on the necessity of an impress, and of having recourse to extraordinary means for the necessary supply of money. The head of the Navy Board, who is at the same time a leading member in the House of Representatives, gave me such positive assurances on both points, as tempted me to employ the interval of preparation in my visit to Newport. But, as I was returning, I was met with a letter informing me that the motion for an impress had been rejected. To add to our difficulties, the terror of an impress had cleared the port of seamen, and deprived us of the little succour we derived from the ships' rendezvous.

In these circumstances, I was reduced to the necessity of soliciting General Lincoln for authority to engage such volunteers from the Continental recruits of this place, and soldiers of the invalid corps, as might be qualified for the sea-service. I applied to Governor Hancock for similar authority with respect

to a corps of State troops which garrison the Castle. I addressed myself to the principal merchants, and tried every expedient that could be thought of. As Governor Hancock could not act but with the authority of the General Court, I yesterday presented a memorial, and obtained permission to enlist twenty volunteers from the Castle guard. General Lincoln, whose zeal in the service of his country is indefatigable, has condescendingly undertaken to use his personal influence in engaging the men, and has gone down to the Castle with a sum of specie, allowed by the General Court for that purpose ; if he is successful, we shall be able to go to sea with confidence. These men are the more necessary to us, as they are natives, and persons upon whose attachment we can depend, as a counterbalance to a number of British prisoners, who were admitted on board when the ship first began to be manned.

I am, at all events, determined to insist on Barry's sailing with the first wind. I have admitted as many passengers as could be accommodated, on condition of their serving as volunteer marines. They will likewise be an additional security against the suspected part of our crew.

7th. Captain Barry says that our ship is but barely manned. However, I am determined to embark to-day, and expect he will sail in the course of the week, wind and weather permitting.

I have only time to entreat your Excellency to present my respects to Mrs. Washington ; and accept the assurances of attachment with which I am unalterably yours,

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL KNOX.

New Windsor, 7 February, 1781.

SIR,

In pursuance of your Excellency's instructions to me, dated the 7th ultimo, I proceeded to the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and delivered the despatches, with which I was charged, to the Governors and to the President, to whom they were addressed.

The Legislatures of Connecticut and Rhode Island, unfortunately, were not sitting. The Governor of the former State, by having the powers of the Assembly in its recess, respecting the exigencies of the war, delegated to him, jointly with a certain Council, supposed that it would be unnecessary to call the Legislature on the matter of my mission, and that his Council would be competent to do every thing necessary on the occasion; for which purpose he proposed to call them together the next day after I had the honor of conversing with him, which was on the 11th ultimo. Governor Trumbull fully coincided in sentiment with me, in respect to the gratuity of the three half johannes, in preference to any pay in paper money, as a matter that would be more efficacious to quiet the minds of the troops, and render them happy; and also as a measure which the New England States could execute with as much ease, under present circumstances, as the three months' real pay in paper. He was clearly of opinion, that to attempt to obtain both the gratuity and three months' pay, would be to attempt more than could be performed consistently with their present exertions in order to put their finances on a tolerable footing. The Governor pledged himself to exert his utmost interest to have the gra-

tuity and deficiency of clothing given to the troops immediately; and requested me to impress on the Governors and official gentlemen in the other States, the necessity and propriety of New England adopting similar measures. I believe the Governor religiously performed his part, and I am happy to believe I did not fail in mine.

At Lebanon I saw His Grace the Duke de Lauzun, who pressed me to write an account of the revolt of the Pennsylvania line to the General, Count de Rochambeau. This I intended to have done when I should have reached Providence, as a matter which I presumed would be agreeable to your Excellency's sentiments. It was only anticipating it a few hours. Therefore, in conformity to the Duke's solicitations, I wrote to His Excellency General Rochambeau the letter marked number One.

Governor Greene, of Rhode Island, immediately called the Legislature of that State to meet him at Greenwich the 18th ultimo.

I was more happy, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to find the Assemblies of those States convened. To them I represented, in the strongest terms I was capable, the distresses of the army in general; of the troops of their lines in particular; and of the probable means that would conciliate the affections of the soldiers, and make them quiet and happy. I take the liberty to annex, in paper number Two, a summary of the arguments which I urged to these Assemblies, as far as they applied to their troops; and these were the principal arguments which I urged to the States respectively.

Massachusetts were pleased to adopt the measures proposed, as appears by their acts, contained in the paper number Three. New Hampshire also adopted

the measures, as far as the circumstances of their troops required. That is, they agreed immediately to grant a gratuity of twenty-four silver dollars per man to their soldiers enlisted for the war, and coats sufficient to complete their line. The State of Rhode Island thought proper to adopt a different mode, as appears by a copy of their proceedings, hereunto annexed, number Four, and certified by the Secretary of that State. But I hope, as their quantity of hard money will be as much as that of the other States, the effects will be equally good. The Council of Connecticut determined upon nothing final, but appeared to intend to follow the example of Massachusetts. They were to meet at Hartford the 5th instant, on this business. The Governor informed me he had but little doubt that they would adopt similar measures to Massachusetts. But, if they should decline, he would immediately call the Legislature, when he presumed the matter would be made certain.

I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, that all ranks of people, as well unofficial as official, from the private farmer up to the Governor, in the four States through which I passed, appear perfectly well principled in the contest, and fully determined to make every sacrifice of property and personal ease to insure the happy termination of the war. The universal sentiment was, that the army ought to be supported, and should be supported at every reasonable expense.

The business of obtaining recruits for their battalions proceeds with great vigor and spirit,—for three years only, indeed; but the prejudice or sentiments of the recruits, who generally are the farmers' sons of the country, are against engaging for an indefinite term of time. I believe it would be easier to engage

recruits from New England for seven years, than for the undefined term, *for the war*.

I hope I have executed this business agreeably to your Excellency's ideas; and if so, a line of approbation would render happy, yours, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, Guilford Court-House, 9 February, 1781.

SIR,

Since I wrote your Excellency by Major Giles, Lord Cornwallis has been constantly in pursuit of the light infantry and the prisoners, and is now between the Shallow Ford, upon the Yadkin and Salem, one of the Moravian towns; and still pushing into the country with great rapidity. The moment I was informed of the movements of Lord Cornwallis, I put the army in motion on Pedee, and left it under the command of Brigadier-General Huger, and set out to join the light infantry, in order to collect the militia, and embarrass the enemy till we could effect a junction of our forces.

General Morgan, after the defeat of Tarleton, had very judiciously made forced marches up into the country, and happily crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which prevented the enemy from following him for several days, during which time the prisoners were got over the Yadkin, and on their march for Dan River, which I hope they have passed, and are in Virginia.

On my arrival at the light infantry camp, I found them at Sherald's Ford, on the Catawba. The enemy were a little lower down the river, at McCowen's

Ford, and the river still so high that they could not cross. We made the best disposition we could to stop them, when the river should fall. But the fords were so numerous, and our forces so small, that we could not effect it. General Davidson, who had great influence among the Muhlenberg and Roan militia, had made use of all the arguments in his power to get the militia into the field, but without effect. They had been so much in service, and their families so distressed, that they were loath to leave home, even on the most pressing occasion.

The enemy crossed at McCowen's Ford, where General Davidson was posted with the greatest part of the militia, who fled at the first discharge. The enemy made good their landing, and the militia retreated. A place of rendezvous was appointed for the militia to collect at, who were posted at the different fords up and down the river above thirty miles. Part of them halted about seven miles short of the place of rendezvous, and were overtaken by Tarleton, and dispersed. I waited that night at the place appointed for the militia to collect at, until morning; but not a man appeared. The light infantry continued their march to Salisbury, and crossed the Yadkin. But before we got over all the baggage and stores, the enemy were at our heels. A pretty smart skirmish happened between a party of our riflemen and the advance of the enemy near the ford. We had secured all the boats, and the river was so high that the enemy could not follow us.

Heavy rains, deep creeks, bad roads, poor horses, and broken harness, as well as delays for want of provisions, prevented our forming a junction as early as I expected; and, fearing that the river might fall so as to be fordable, I ordered the army to file off

to this place, where part of them arrived last evening; the rest I hope will be in this night. The enemy, finding they could not cross the Trading Ford, marched up to the Shallow Ford, where they passed the night before last, and are within twenty-five or thirty miles of this place.

As soon as I arrived at the light infantry camp. I wrote letters to all the militia officers over the mountains, and in the upper country, to embody their men and join the army as early as possible. But very few have joined us, and those principally without arms or ammunition. We have no provisions but what we receive from our daily collections. Under these circumstances, I called a Council, who unanimously advised to avoid an action, and to retire beyond the Roanoke immediately. A copy of the proceedings I have the honor to inclose.

I had previously ordered all the stores and heavy baggage to be removed to Prince Edward Court-House; and informed Governor Nash of our situation. I have formed a light army, composed of the cavalry of the first and third regiments, and the legion, amounting to two hundred and forty; a detachment of two hundred and eighty infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard; the infantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Lee's legion, and sixty Virginia riflemen; making in the whole seven hundred men, who will be ordered, with the militia, to harass the enemy in their advance, check their progress, and, if possible, give us an opportunity to retire without a general action.

The force under Lord Cornwallis, consists of between twenty-five hundred and three thousand troops, including near three hundred dragoons, and their mounted infantry. They have destroyed their wagons, and are completely equipped as light infantry.

I have the honor to inclose a copy of a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, extracts of two letters from General Marion, and a copy of a letter from a well-informed gentleman, respecting the operations at Wilmington. General Morgan is so unwell that he has left the army. The enemy, since the action of the 17th ultimo, have pursued him upwards of two hundred miles. He was obliged to leave the wounded, the arms, wagons, and carriages of the artillery, taken in the action; but I hope they have not fallen into the hands of the enemy.

I have ordered General Marion to cross the Santee River, and General Sumpter to collect the militia in the upper part of South Carolina. General Pickens has orders to take command of the men in arms in the rear of the enemy. I have wrote Mr. Henry, the late Governor of Virginia, to collect, if possible, fourteen or fifteen hundred volunteers, to aid us, should the enemy attempt to pursue us beyond the Dan River. I had the satisfaction to receive your Excellency's despatches of the 27th of December, and the 2d and 9th of January, a few days since. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, yours, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Albany, 14 February, 1781.

SIR,

Reflecting, with a most sincere satisfaction, on the marks of confidence which you have so repeatedly bestowed upon the Government of this State, we esteem it incumbent on us to afford your Excellency the pe-

rusal of a letter which we have addressed to Congress, a copy whereof we have the honor to inclose.

Minute as we have been in a detail of our distresses, they fall far short of those we at this instant actually experience. Since we despatched the letter to Congress, petitions have been presented to us from every quarter of the frontiers, claiming protection, and entreating us, if we cannot afford it, in some degree, immediately, and during the campaign more effectually, to advise them of it, that they may take the advantage of the snow to remove their families and effects to the interior part of the State. Whilst these applications were under consideration, in order to devise the means of relief for those unhappy people, the enemy have commenced their barbarities, and butchered some of the inhabitants in Tryon county, numbers of whom, impelled by apprehensions too well founded, are already moving, and the remainder preparing to follow. In the dilemma to which this calamity has reduced us, we wish, in order to prevent a total depopulation of the best part of our remaining territory, to have it in our power to assure the inhabitants that the two regiments of our State line will be destined for the frontier service; and we therefore take the liberty to request your Excellency to enable us to give these assurances, and to be informed from you whether this, or any other equal force, will remain for the protection of the northern and western frontiers. As nothing but the fullest conviction that such severe calamities will follow from withdrawing these troops, as will be replete with ruin to the common cause, could have induced us to this request, we trust in your Excellency's candor for a favorable construction of our intentions, as any

interference in your command is the farthest from our wish.

A want of ability to raise a competent body of troops for the defence of the frontiers, and a conviction of the necessity of at least doubling their number, induce us to entreat your Excellency to afford us whatever further assistance you may have in your power. Were it necessary to urge any motives to a gentleman who so eminently turns his attention to the commonweal of the Confederacy, we might state many to evince the importance of perfectly securing the country in question. We are convinced it is not; relying, in the fullest confidence, that all will be done for us that with propriety can be expected.

The want of some artillerists and field-artillery, when the enemy penetrated into the country in the last campaign, was an evident disadvantage. We could, therefore, wish for such a portion of them as your Excellency may judge adequate to this service. The frequent calls on the militia, in the course of the last campaign, have exhausted all our stock of ammunition; and, as we have not the means of obtaining any, except from the public magazines, permit us to entreat your Excellency to direct a quantity to be expedited to this place for the use of the troops (the militia), who may be called into the field.

The Commanding Officer here will, doubtless, inform your Excellency that the troops in this department are destitute of provisions of the meat kind; that, on the 6th instant, there was beef at Fort Schuyler only for fourteen days, and that the troops in this city and Schenectady are billeted upon the inhabitants, for want of that article of provision. As a present relief, we have advanced all the money in our treasury, amounting to about twelve hundred dol-

lars of the new emission, to our agent to purchase beef. From this, however, we expect little success, as there are no beef cattle within the State; and, should the agent succeed in making purchases to the amount of the cash, it will produce, at most, only a temporary supply. We therefore take the liberty to suggest to your Excellency the necessity of an order from you in favor of the Deputy Commissary of Issues, in this department, upon the magazine at Richmond, in Massachusetts, or any of the Purchasing Officers in the other States bordering upon this, for a supply of beef for the use of the troops in this department; which, if granted, the bearer will convey to the Deputy Commissary of Issues, who is now in this place.

By order, and in behalf of the Legislature, I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, yours, &c.

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 15 February, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Colonel Laurens sailed on the 13th, after waiting several days in Nantasket Road for a fair wind. On his arrival here, he found the Alliance had not completed her crew, and that it would be difficult soon to effect it. This induced him to apply to the Navy Board to obtain from the General Court a power to impress, which not only failed in the House, but so alarmed the sailors, that some secreted themselves, and others left the town; so that, although the Assembly ordered the bounty increased out of their own chest, and

afterwards gave a permission to enlist out of the State troops, a deficiency still existed, and the ship was detained solely by the want of a crew. This being represented by Colonel Laurens, and the importance of his mission, joined by his request that I would aid in completing the crew of the Alliance by suffering the sea-officers to engage such of the recruits of this State, as were qualified for the marine service, induced me to permit it; and eight or ten of the recruits, and about the same number of invalids, went on board, which I hope will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I have been frequently applied to for warrants for the pay of the invalids and others. Have I power to grant such warrants? The late Lieutenant-Colonel Loring has been to Congress, I suppose, to solicit a new hearing. From the papers he showed me in September last, I thought that he had such new and material evidence to offer in his case, as gave flattering hopes that he would obtain his wishes, and prove himself an honest man. I know his circumstances to be such as forbid his remaining longer from his family, without great injury to himself and them. Give me leave to beg, my dear Sir, if he is to enjoy the benefit of a new hearing, that he may, as early as possible, have that favor.

There are many deserters strolling through the country, who, I suppose, would return to their duty, if they could hope for a pardon. But past omissions to embrace the mercy so often held out to them, have, I presume, prevented your Excellency from repeating once more that which has been attended with so little success. Though I cannot solicit your Excellency in behalf of these infatuated men, without hurting your feelings (for I am confident your willingness to

save has known no other bounds than the utmost limits of mercy to the wicked, which could be exercised short of cruelty to the good), yet I have my wishes that the most virtuous, if virtue can be applied to any of them, might be encouraged to hope for an opportunity of evidencing the sincerity of their repentance by future obedience, and rewarded accordingly. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with every sentiment of esteem,

Yours, &c.,

BENJAMEN LINCOLN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, Irwin's Ferry, on the Dan River,
15 February, 1781.

SIR,

I wrote your Excellency at Guilford Court-House, giving you an account of our situation, and of the measures advised by the Council of War, since which time we have been manœuvring constantly in the face of the enemy, who pressed our rear every day.

Finding our numbers and condition so unequal to the enemy, that it would be too hazardous to risk a general action, and being pressed in point of time to get off our stores and baggage, notwithstanding I had ordered it to file off for Hillsborough when the army began their march from Pedee, and the stores from Hillsborough to cross the Roanoke the moment I could satisfy myself that it was the intention of Lord Cornwallis to penetrate the upper country,—to gain time to effect this business, as well as give the militia an opportunity to collect, I found it necessary to form as strong a covering party as possible, which was commanded by Colonel Williams, who had orders

to keep as near the enemy as he could, without exposing the party too much, and retard their march all in his power. His conduct upon the occasion does him the highest honor.

Lord Cornwallis has been at our heels from day to day ever since we left Guilford; and our movements from thence to this place have been of the most critical kind, having a river in our front, and the enemy in our rear. But, happily, we have crossed without the loss of either men or stores. Much credit is due to Lieutenant-Colonel Carrington on this occasion. The enemy are on the other side of the river, and, as it is falling, I expect it will be fordable before night; and the fords are so numerous, and the enemy lie in such an advantageous situation for crossing, that it would be a folly to think of defending them, as it would reduce our force to small parties, which might prove our ruin. The miserable situation of the troops, for want of clothing, has rendered the march the most painful imaginable, several hundreds of the soldiers tracking the ground with their bloody feet. Your feelings for the suffering soldier, had you been here, must have been pained upon the occasion.

The enemy's movements have been so rapid, and the country under such terror, that few or no militia have joined us, and the greater part we had have fallen off. Inclosed I send your Excellency the strength of the British army, which you will see is much stronger than I had calculated upon in my last. This account I believe may be depended upon, though I have not a shilling of money to obtain intelligence, notwithstanding my application to Maryland for money for this particular service; and your Excellency knows that good intelligence is the soul of an army, and ought to govern all its movements.

I have done every thing to call out the militia of the upper country, and have kept Governors Nash and Jefferson as regularly advised of the state of matters, as time and circumstances would permit. Nothing is yet done to give me effectual support; and I am not a little apprehensive that it is out of the power of Virginia and North Carolina to afford it. I must repeat again what I have said in several letters, that I fear nothing can save the Southern States but a good regular army; and I am more confirmed of the importance of the cavalry upon this occasion than ever I have been, though strongly impressed with it before.

Should Lord Cornwallis cease his pursuit after this army, I imagine he will file off for Halifax, and endeavour to establish a post there; to prevent which I have sent Colonel Kosciuszko to fortify it. That position would greatly awe Virginia, and almost totally subject North Carolina. If we can prevent his taking post there, and oblige him to fall down into the lower country, he will reap little advantage from his movements. I wish it was in my power to give your Excellency more flattering accounts from this quarter; but I fear, unless reënforcements come from the northward, this will prove a devoted country. However, my utmost exertions shall be continued to save these States, and I shall be happy, if my conduct meets with your approbation, as my situation affords me no prospect of personal glory.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lee made a charge upon the enemy's advanced party, a few days since, and cut off the greater part of them. A captain and several privates were made prisoners. The enemy move with great caution, though with great rapidity, frequently performing marches of thirty miles a day. Myself

and my Aids are almost worn out with fatigue, which prevents my giving you more frequent and particular accounts of our movements. Our army are in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue. I have had no further accounts from Wilmington or the Baron Steuben since I wrote.

I am, with great respect, yours, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 17 February, 1781.

SIR,

By a letter from General Greene, dated Guilford Court-House, 10th February, we are informed that Lord Cornwallis had burnt his own wagons in order to enable himself to move with greater facility, and had pressed immediately on. The prisoners taken at the Cowpens were happily saved by the accidental rise of a watercourse, which gave so much time as to withdraw them from the reach of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis had advanced to the vicinity of the Moravian towns, and was still moving on rapidly. His object was supposed to be to compel General Greene to an action, which, under the difference of force they had, would probably be ruinous to the latter. General Greene meant to retire by the way of Boyd's Ferry, on the Roanoke. As yet he had lost little or no stores or baggage, but they were far from being safe. In the instant of receiving this intelligence, we ordered a reënforcement of militia to him from the most convenient counties in which there was a hope of finding any arms. Some great event must arise from the present situation of things, which for

a long time will determine the condition of southern affairs.

Arnold lies close in his quarters. Two days ago I received information of the arrival of a sixty-four gun ship and two frigates in our Bay, being part of the fleet of our good ally at Rhode Island. Could they get at the British fleet here, they are sufficient to destroy them; but these being drawn up into Elizabeth River, into which the sixty-four cannot enter, I apprehend they could do nothing more than block up the river. This, indeed, would reduce the enemy, as we could cut off their supplies by land; but the operation being lengthy, would probably be too dangerous to the auxiliary force. Not having yet had any particular information of the designs of the French Commander, I cannot pretend to say what measures this aid will lead to.

Our proposition to the Cherokee Chiefs to visit Congress, for the purpose of preventing, or delaying, a rupture with that nation, was too late. Their distresses had too much ripened their alienation from us, and the storm had gathered to a head when Major Martin got back. It was determined to carry the war into their country, rather than await it in ours; and I have it in my power to inform you, that, thus disagreeably circumstanced, the issue has been successful. The militia of this State and North Carolina penetrated into their country, burnt almost every town they had, amounting to about one thousand houses in the whole, destroyed fifty thousand bushels of grain, killed twenty-nine, and took seventeen prisoners. The latter are mostly women and children. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. Since writing the above I received information, which, though not authentic, commands attention; that Lord Cornwallis had got to Boyd's Ferry on the 14th. I am issuing orders, in consequence, to other counties to embody and march all the men they can arm. In this fatal situation, without arms, there will be no safety for the Convention troops, but in their removal, which I shall accordingly order. The prisoners of the Cowpens were at New London (Bedford Court-House) on the 14th.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.*

Newburg, 18 February, 1781.

SIR,

General Knox informed me, to-day, that no artillery was to go from hence. I had previously ordered fifty draught-horses to be impressed for transporting the artillery, ammuniton, and tents. I now propose to dispose of them as follows;—For the Marquis de la Fayette's wagon, four; a baggage tumbril for the artillery officers, three; for three close wagons, in which are to be carried from hence eleven horsemen's and sixty common tents, twelve; the Field-Officers and Captains of artillery, two or three; total, twenty-two. These may proceed to-morrow for Pompton. The residue of the horses and sleighs, impressed on this occasion, I have ordered to be employed in carrying

* Colonel Pickering was appointed Quartermaster-General of the army on the 5th of August, 1780, after the resignation of General Greene. It was at the same time resolved by Congress, "that he be continued as a member of the Board of War, but that the exercise of all his powers at the said Board, and his pay as a member thereof, be suspended during such time as he shall continue Quartermaster-General."

clothing and provisions to West Point, while their forage and the sleighing lasts.

I wrote yesterday morning to Colonel Hughes, desiring him to give the necessary orders to his assistants at the Village, and King's Ferry, to impress twenty-five riding horses, for the Field and Staff Officers of the detachment; the whole, if he thought best, on the west side of the river, to save the trouble of crossing. I also desired him to impress ten two-horse wagons, and have them at King's Ferry on the 20th, to take up the baggage of the officers, and the kettles of the men, as soon as they crossed. That number I judged sufficient, supposing the officers would take with them only their blankets, portmanteaus, and cooking utensils. Colonel Hughes received these orders, and answered me last evening that they should be executed. I have wrote to him this afternoon, desiring him to send one hundred axes to Major Campbell, at the Village, to distribute to the detachment, when assembled, if they should need them. I have also requested him to examine into the condition of the boats at King's Ferry, and see that they are prepared to transport the troops.

I have sent orders to Morristown, to have one hundred and fifty common, and ten or twelve horsemen's tents put in order immediately. These, with those proposed to be sent from hence, will be sufficient for the detachment, allowing seven men one common tent, and four Captains and subalterns one horsemen's tent. If there be three officers to a company, six will have but one horsemen's tent. It is proposed to furnish the detachment with two hundred narrow axes, one hundred and thirty pickaxes, one hundred and fifty spades, and two hundred and fifty shovels. By a return, received in November. there

appeared to be spades, shovels, and one hundred and six picks (enough) at Philadelphia. At the same time, there were plenty of good axes at Lancaster, from whence the transportation is easy to the Head of Elk. There are also five hundred axes at Morristown. But if, on my arrival at Philadelphia, there should be found a deficiency of intrenching tools, it will be practicable to complete the requisite number in two or three days.

I have proposed that the horses going from hence and King's Ferry, should be relieved at Pompton; that the teams requisite for the tents, at Morristown, should be impressed in that neighbourhood, and go as far as Trenton; and that the horses and teams impressed at Pompton should be relieved about Somerset Court-House. But should there chance to be provision teams at Morristown, returning to Trenton, they may be detained a day or two to take up the baggage of the detachment, and save any farther impress, except for the close baggage-wagons. The same may take place from Pompton to Morristown, should there be teams returning from Ringwood. That from Bucks county, in Pennsylvania, teams and horses should be collected sufficient for the baggage of the whole detachment, and rendezvous at Trenton Ferry, unless the river should admit of water transportation; that, if the whole proceed by land, the Bucks county teams should be relieved at Chester; that teams should be furnished at Philadelphia for the intrenching tools, and whatever may be taken up there; and thus the whole proceed to the Head of Elk. I have sent Major Platt to West Point to request of General Heath, an active officer to serve as Quarter-master to the detachment.

I have provided two Forage-masters, that have ap-

peared to me as clever as any in the service, to accompany, or rather precede the detachment, to impress teams and forage; and a Conductor to attend to the march of the baggage. The greatest difficulty, that I foresee, will be in impressing the teams and horses with proper despatch and punctuality, for want of dragoons. The time of every impress must be regulated by the orders of the Commanding Officer of the detachment.

I request your Excellency's orders relative to any farther arrangement of this business, or alteration of the measures here proposed. I am, most respectfully,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 21 February, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to mention to you a young gentleman, captured by the enemy when the Buckskin fell into their hands in the Chesapeake Bay, and who was put on shore under parole, and wishes to be discharged from the obligation as soon as possible, as he conceives it restrains him not only from acting in the field, should the situation of his country require his services, but even from attending the hospitals for his instruction, which he is very desirous of doing. The person I speak of is Dr. John Lewis, a son of the late Mr. Charles Lewis, whose name I mentioned to you some years ago, while he was in New York, and, being refused the liberty of coming out, was at length obliged to return to Great Britain. His parole is, I think, singular, as it extends only to his not doing or speaking any thing to the prejudice

of the enemy, without the clause of rendering himself when called for.

You will receive from the President a copy of a Report which has passed in Congress, in consequence of Colonel Harrison's communications. You will also be informed of the arrival of Provost, with a reënforcement to the enemy in the south, and of his progress since his arrival. Arnold's position at Portsmouth, Provost in North Carolina, and Cornwallis in South Carolina, will, I fear, effectually obstruct the supplies from our State, or so delay them as to render Greene's situation critical. If the French ships from Rhode Island shall succeed in their enterprise in the Chesapeake, the event will be propitious, and produce the happiest effects. Our State will be thereby further aided by a supply of one thousand stand of arms, and some stores retaken and sent forward in one of the French frigates. The arrival of Provost, and the great want of arms in the Southern States, it must be confessed, presents a rather gloomy prospect; and, under this temper of mind, you will receive a letter reiterating what has, I think, been several times intimated, a desire that you will pay particular attention to the Southern department. I wish we could but content ourselves with a communication of facts, and any reflections upon them for illustration, leaving the combination and execution of the various operations of a campaign to those whose business it is to project and execute them.

Paul Jones's arrival gives us no relief in clothing or arms, a disappointment the more to be regretted as our wants increase. Yet we know not whom to blame. Jones will, I expect, unfold this dark, and, as yet, mysterious business. I presume you must have been informed that Virginia has receded from

her former instructions to her Delegates in Congress, respecting the claim, on her part, to the free navigation of the Mississippi, which, if approved by Congress, will probably bring about an alliance with Spain, and an acknowledgment of our independence. No doubt this event, if it takes place, will give us more credit in Europe; but we pay dear for it.

We are about appointing the officers who are to be at the head of our great departments. Yesterday Mr. Morris, without a vote against him (though S. A., and his colleague, General W., declined to ballot), was chosen Financier. I cannot say he will accept, but have some hopes he will. Our finances want a Necker to arrange and reform them. Morris is, I believe, the best qualified of any our country affords for the arduous undertaking. We shall, in a day or two, appoint the officers for the Foreign Affairs and the Marine. I wish we had men in these offices as well qualified to execute them, as Morris in the Treasury. Some, however, that are nominated, if they can be chosen, will do very well. We are under difficulties about the War Office, lest any person we could now put into it may not answer so well as the present Commissary. This may, and I expect will, postpone that appointment.

With great esteem, I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.,
JOSEPH JONES.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 25 February, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your letters of the 29th December and 10th of January last. That of the 10th

came to hand on the 20th instant, and the other on the day following. As it is my duty, so it is my highest pleasure, to execute every instruction I receive from your Excellency, to the utmost of my capacity. Captain Heth having retired to his farm, I cannot at this time send his rank, but have inclosed the rank of the Maryland officers; and will forward that of the other officers by the next conveyance.

The Indians have lately killed one man upon Ten-Mile Creek, and the inhabitants are in great consternation. The frontier settlements will doubtless be deserted, as I have not troops to protect them. I shall be happy if the proposed expedition, under Colonel Clark, answers your Excellency's expectations. Nothing in my power shall be wanting to forward his operations. In my last, I begged leave of absence until I could do myself the honor to wait upon your Excellency. And as my force will now be much reduced, I take the liberty to renew my application. With the most perfect respect, &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. I shall be glad to know if it be your Excellency's pleasure to have a garrison continued at Fort McIntosh.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, High Rock Ford, on Haw River,
28 February, 1781.

SIR,

I did myself the honor to write your Excellency on the 15th instant, when I was endeavouring to

collect a body of militia to reënforce this army. But the enemy, early on the 19th, filed off to Hillsborough, where Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation (a copy of which is inclosed), and made use of every art to induce the people to join him. To prevent his success in the execution of this business, which we had every reason to believe he would accomplish, I was obliged to recross the Dan River before the militia could be assembled. This was effected on the 23d, and with great difficulty we have reached this place.

The scarcity of provision, which is rendered more distressing by the loose and irregular manner in which the militia of this country take the field, is not only embarrassing, but very alarming. The want of penal laws to oblige the inhabitants to supply themselves with arms and accoutrements, renders the aid of the militia precarious and almost useless. I am anxiously waiting the arrival of Colonel William Campbell, who is expected to join us with a respectable body of mounted riflemen, which will enable this army to approach the enemy with greater confidence and effectually to harass their way.

Lord Cornwallis evacuated Hillsborough on the 26th, and moved on the road to Guilford Court-House, and crossed the Haw River, at Tralinger's Ford, twenty miles below this place, last night. His route and his object are uncertain; but circumstances lead to a belief that he will move towards Cross Creek, by which I fear he will collect a very large number of the disaffected inhabitants. I have received no accounts from General Sumpter; but wish he may be able, in conjunction with General Marion, to destroy some of the enemy's small posts in South Carolina, and prevent the accomplishment of their designs in

that country. The enemy have ordered two regiments of negroes to be immediately embodied, and are drafting a great proportion of the young men of that State, to serve during the war.

We have the most unequivocal and full evidence of the disaffection of a great part of this State. The enemy have raised seven independent companies in a single day; and we have the mortification to find, that most of the prisoners we take are inhabitants of America. The Legislature, I am informed, have passed a law for drafting twenty-seven hundred men for twelve months, but they cannot attempt to carry it into effect while the enemy continue in the State.

Our detachments have been successful in several attempts upon the enemy's pickets, having killed and wounded about thirty, and made twenty prisoners, without any loss. General Pickens, with a body of mounted riflemen, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with the cavalry of his legion, were detached to endeavour to harass the enemy; and being informed that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton had passed the Haw River, near General Butler's plantation, they immediately went in pursuit of him, but, unfortunately, came up with a body of upwards of two hundred of Colonel Hambleton's corps, and the North Carolina Tories, three miles in his rear, who were to have joined him that evening. The General attempted to pass by them as a detachment of the British army, which the legion succeeded in; but when the militia came up, the enemy discovered their mistake, which obliged our troops to charge them, in doing which, some of the militia could not be prevented from firing, which alarmed Colonel Tarleton, and gave him an opportunity to escape. The whole of the enemy were routed in a few minutes, and the greater part of them left

dead on the ground. Colonel Piles and several officers were among the number.

The want of supplies in this country, the superiority of the enemy, and the mode in which the militia do duty, are alarming circumstances at this critical period; and, unless the most vigorous exertions are made in the Southern States, we cannot be relieved. Of the troops raised by the State of Virginia last summer, four hundred are now at Chesterfield Court-House, naked, and unable to march. But the Baron Steuben has detained some clothing coming from Philadelphia, which will enable him to send them forward immediately. They were raised for eighteen months, but the greater part of the time will expire before they join the army. I wish these States could have been convinced of the loss they sustain by short enlistments.

Your Excellency's letter of the 2d instant, with the inclosed Act of Congress, was handed me on the 20th. I am convinced that Colonel Armand's legion can render no service on its present footing. The officers refuse to go on duty with the men; thirty-eight, out of a detachment of forty men, deserted to the enemy, and the Baron Steuben was obliged to order a number of them to join their regiments, who are prisoners at Charlottesville.

The militia of the back country have returned from their expedition, having destroyed most of the towns belonging to the Cherokee Indians. I have commissioned a number of the principal inhabitants to treat with the Cherokee and Chickasaw nations on terms of accommodation, subject to the determination of Congress. A copy of their instructions I shall inclose as early as possible. I have the honor to be, with esteem and respect, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, 2 March, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your letters of the 25th and 26th are both come yesterday to hand, which shows that the expresses have not made great despatch. I would have done myself the honor of writing to your Excellency, had I not every minute waited for intelligences from the southward.

Your Excellency remembers that our shortest calculation for the arrival of the troops at the Head of Elk was for the 6th of March. I am happy to inform you that they will be there this day or to-morrow early; and notwithstanding the depth of the mud, and the extreme badness of the roads, this march, which I can call rapid (as, for example, they came in two days from Morristown to Princeton), has been performed with such an order and alacrity, that, agreeably to the report, two men only have been left behind, and yet these two men have embarked at Trenton, with some remains of baggage. At every place where the detachment have halted, they have found covering and wood, &c., ready for them, and there has not been the least complaint made to me from any inhabitant. Every third day they have drawn their provisions. The clothing has been also distributed; and, having embarked yesterday at Trenton, they passed the city about two o'clock, by a wind which was extremely favorable. Congress have given to our troops the advance of one month's pay, which will be distributed at the Head of Elk, in their emission.

The artillery, consisting of one twenty-four, six eighteen, two brass twelve, one eight-inch howitzer,

two eight-inch mortars, in all twelve heavy pieces, four six-pounders, and two small howitzers, with a sufficient proportion of ammunition, will be at the Head of Elk this day and to-morrow; so that by the 4th I hope we shall be ready to sail. A quantity of medicines and instruments, and fifteen hundred pairs of shoes, will be at the Head of Elk before we embark. Vessels will be in readiness to receive us with thirty days' provisions on board. I am also assured, that we shall have a sufficient quantity of boats to land the detachment; and two heavy scows will be added for the artillery. The public, and some of the private armed vessels in the Bay, have been ordered to the Head of Elk. Two despatch-boats are there, and four more have been asked for. As a farther security for our subsistence, I have got the Minister's permission to dispose of the French flour and salt meat along the Bay, in case of necessity.

On my arrival at this place I heard that M. de Tilly, the French Commander, had conferred with the Virginians, but upon seeing that nothing could be done immediately, he was undetermined whether to stay or return to Rhode Island. Fearing that our letters might miscarry, and wishing to hurry the preparations of the militia, I complied with the earnest solicitations of the Minister of France to send on Colonel Gouvion, and directed him to go thither by land or water, as the state of the Bay would permit, on board the French squadron, and afterwards to Baron de Steuben's camp, where he may apprise these gentlemen of our force, our intentions, and the time of our arrival.

This minute account I give to your Excellency to show you that nothing on our part has been wanting

for the success of the expedition. Our preparations have, in every article, fulfilled, and in the most important one, time, have exceeded, what had been expected. Your letter was sent by express to General St. Clair, who immediately came to town. But nothing having been done for the settling of the accounts, none of the promises having been complied with, and the men being much scattered, it has, after much consideration, been thought impossible to embark any number with us; and General St. Clair promises to make every exertion for the sending of two or three hundred in a few days, whom, however, I am not to depend upon.

I am myself going to the Head of Elk, and shall arrive there this evening. It has not been possible for me to leave sooner the city, as the three days I have remained here have been fully employed in making and forwarding preparations. Before I go I will wait on the Board of the Navy, and propose the sending of the frigates; but the Trumbull having not her complement of men, and those of the Ariel having mutinied at sea, I am afraid we shall find difficulties.

The preparations made at New York; the return of the *Aminta*; the remasting of the *Bedford*; the impossibility *M. Destouches* is under to give us any farther assistance; the uncertainty of what *M. de Tilly* may have determined before he had received your letter;—such are, my dear General, the many reasons which, from a pretty certain expedition, have lately made a very precarious one. Under these circumstances, indeed, there must always be more or less danger in going down the Bay, and venturing upon the low country about Portsmouth.

Being unacquainted with the answer you have re-

ceived from Count de Rochambeau and M. Destouches, I am not able to judge how far I may depend upon the same ship being ordered again to the Chesapeake, in case (before the reception of your letter) she had thought proper to sail. Her coming was not in consequence of your proposition; her going was relative to the difficulties of an expedition very different from ours; and I wish I might know, if, though M. Destouches cannot give further assistance, this assistance at least may be depended upon, so as to hope for the return of the ship, should M. de Tilly have left the Bay. The bottom of the Bedford is said to be damaged, the *Aminta* was said to have been dismasted. Suppose those circumstances were true, they would be in our favor.

If a detachment was to go from New York to Portsmouth, West Point would be left in danger. If Cornwallis continues advancing, perhaps our being in the neighbourhood of Arnold may be of service. I will, however, confine myself literally to my instructions; and if Colonel Gouvion writes me with certainty, that M. de Tilly is gone, if I am not led to suppose he will return, I will march back the detachment. For the present, I am going on, because, upon the increasing of the enemy's force at Gardiner's Bay, you recommend despatch to me.

I hope, however, that I shall hear from your Excellency, now that the chain is established. Colonel Pickering says, that in six days I may receive your answer at the Head of Elk. The hope of seeing the French ship again, or some other reason, may detain me. But your answer will determine my motions; and I can receive it by the 8th, which is about the time when it was thought we should arrive at the Head of Elk. My expectations are not great, and I

think we have but few chances for us. I shall make all possible despatch, and listen particularly to the voice of prudence. However, some hazard must be run, if we undertake in these circumstances.

General Duportail having not left this place, I am led to hope, that, if we do not go, I may return in time for the journey to Rhode Island. I most instantly beg, my dear General, you will favor me with an immediate answer.

With the highest respect and most tender affection,
I have the honor to be, &c.

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. One of our transports from Trenton had got aground; but the troops on board of her will still be in time at the Head of Elk. Some new difficulties have been made for the collecting of shoes, but I will try to get over them. From the extraordinary motions of Lord Cornwallis, whom we have not heard of these many days, and from the movements in New York, I am led to hope that I shall hear from you respecting my future conduct, and that I may be at head-quarters before you think it prudent to leave New Windsor.

FROM JOHN SULLIVAN, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 6 March, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

I was duly honored with your Excellency's favor of the 4th of February, and omitted writing since upon a supposition that you had gone to Rhode Island. I am happy to find your Excellency entertains the same sentiments of the virtues and abilities of Colonel Hamilton, as I have ever done myself. After I wrote

your Excellency, I found the eyes of Congress turned on Robert Morris, of this city, as Financier. I did not therefore nominate Colonel Hamilton, as I foresaw it would be but a vain attempt. I shall this day nominate him as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in which, I think, I shall meet the approbation of most of the States.

The choice of a Minister of War is postponed to the first of October. This was a manœuvre of Samuel Adams and others from the north, fearing that, as I was in nomination, the choice would fall on me, who, having apostatized from the true New England faith, by sometimes voting with the Southern States, am not eligible. They were not, however, acquainted with all the circumstances. I was nominated against my will, and, if chosen, should not have accepted. General McDougall is appointed Minister of Marine. The plans of finance and all other matters go on so slowly, that I tremble at the consequences. I am mortified at the useless harangues, which consume our time to no purpose. I am now endeavouring to obtain an adjournment of Congress, and for leaving a Committee to transact the business, as the only way of having the public business done with propriety and despatch. I fully agree with your Excellency, that Congress ought to have more power; but I also think that the old members should be in Heaven, or at home, before this takes place.

The traffic carried on with the enemy is alarming, as it not only serves to furnish them with necessaries, but tends to reconcile our citizens to the idea of renewing their connection with Great Britain, and of course disaffects them to our government.

Since General Greene's letter of the 15th of February, we have received advices from Governor Jefferson,

and divers others, that Cornwallis is retreating, that General Greene crossed the river in pursuit of him the 21st, and that the militia had collected all round him. I hope it is not a manœuvre to bring General Greene to an action.

I have been settling my accounts with the Treasury Board, and find I stand charged with money received at Cambridge, to pay the bounty to the New Hampshire recruits in 1776. All my papers were lost at New York, and I can remember little of the matter. This I am sure of, that I never received any public money, but what I immediately applied to the use intended. Perhaps Colonel Harrison has some papers which will settle the matter. I also am charged with the money paid for the troops engaged at Trenton, in December, 1776. I remember the whole of this was settled at Morristown about two months after, and I received a receipt in full, which is in New Hampshire. Perhaps your papers may save me the trouble of sending for it. I have the honor to be,

With the highest esteem, dear General, yours, &c.,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Head of Elk, 7 March, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Contrary winds, heavy rains, disappointments of vessels, and every inconvenience for which we had no remedy, have been, from the day of my arrival, combined against our embarkation. I hope, however, we shall be on board to-morrow morning; and, as nothing certain has been heard from the French ships, no time will be lost on our part for the celerity of the ex-

pedition. The troops will embark five miles below this place, and three miles higher up than the point where General Howe landed. There will be more room for the arrangement of our vessels, and the shallowness of water insures us against the enterprises of any vessel of force. In this situation we may wait for intelligences from our friends.

The State of Maryland have made to me every offer in their power. I will improve this opportunity of making up some deficiencies in the Quarter-master's and Engineer's departments, and of insuring to us a good stock of provisions. Upon the intelligence received that Baron Steuben was gone with a large detachment to the southward, I had hinted the possibility of getting some militia from the lower counties, and repairing some cannon at Baltimore. But, having read the inclosed letter from the Baron, I will write again to Governor Lee (as my letter has been gone but two days), and save the State from any expense of that kind.

To the obtaining of the vessels, has been joined the difficulty of getting them up the river, as they were taking every opportunity to slip off. All the vessels, three excepted, are only Bay crafts, and our Admiral ship mounts twelve guns. I have prepared some kind of orders for that fleet, but hope to be relieved from my naval command by the arrival of a French frigate, and have, at all events, sent for Commodore Nicholson, of Baltimore. Mr. McHenry has been very active in accelerating the measures of his State.

By a letter from Colonel Gouvion, dated Wicomico River, I find that, after many adventures, he had landed there on the 4th, and was proceeding by land to his destination. The wind is fair enough to come

up the Bay, and I hope soon to hear from our friends. The inclosed letter from the Baron, having first come into my hands, and being on public service, as it was written upon *to be forwarded with despatch*, I took the liberty to open it, but was very sorry to have done it after a letter of the same date had come also to my hands. Both say the same thing (at least in every material point), and I am happy to find that the Baron's preparations are going on rapidly.

Whatever may be the Baron's opinion upon the facility of taking, sword in hand, the fortifications at Portsmouth, I will not hazard any thing before I have considered the matter with my own eyes. Arnold had so much time to prepare, and plays so deep a game; nature has made the position so respectable; and some of the troops under his orders have been in so many actions,—that I do not flatter myself to succeed so easily as it may be thought. The prospect of preserving naval superiority must, I think, decide, if we are to have blood shed by regular approaches, or to risk our men in the dangers of an assault. But I would like to destroy the works in some measure, before we attempt to storm them. A conversation with the Baron, with Colonel Gouvion, and some other officers, joined to what I can see myself, will better fix my mind on the matter than it can be at present.

When I left Philadelphia, General Wayne was not far from hoping he could soon collect a thousand men. But I am not so sanguine in my expectations. I am, however, trying to prepare matters for these men, but think that a sufficiency of vessels (unless ours are sent back) will not be obtained within a few days. Let General Wayne arrive in time, or not, when he comes under my direction I wish to know, if, in case we succeed, he must be sent on to Gene-

ral Greene. Supposing he is to go there, would your Excellency think of selecting some riflemen for the Grand Army? It seems to me that I heard you once mentioning this matter.

The State of Virginia, I am told, finds difficulties in the keeping of prisoners. Suppose something of the kind was stated to me, am I to alter any thing in what you said to me on the subject? I am in a great hurry to go, my dear General, but, let us succeed or fail in the object we have in view, I shall not be less hurried to return with the detachment to head-quarters, where I hope to be again as soon as you may possibly expect.

With the highest respect, and most tender affection, I have the honor to be, my dear General, &c.,
LAFAYETTE.

P. S. I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Hamilton, and my compliments to the family.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 8 March, 1781.

SIR,

I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from General Greene, dated High Rock Ford, February 29 (probably March 1), who informs me, that, on the night of the 24th, Colonel McCall surprised a subaltern's guard, at Hart's Mill, killed eight, and wounded and took nine prisoners; and that, on the 25th, General Pickens and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee routed a body of near three hundred Tories, on the Haw River, who were in arms to join the British army, killed

upwards of one hundred, and wounded most of the rest, which had had a very happy effect on the disaffected in that country.

By a letter from Major Magill, an officer of this State, whom I had sent to General Greene's headquarters, for the purpose of giving us regular intelligence, dated Guilford county, March 2d, I am informed that Lord Cornwallis, on his retreat, erected the British standard at Hillsborough; that a number of disaffected, under the command of a Colonel Piles, were resorting to it, when they were intercepted by General Pickens and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, as mentioned by General Greene, and that their Commanding Officer was among the slain; that Lord Cornwallis, after destroying every thing he could at Hillsborough, moved down the Haw River; that General Greene was within six miles of him; that our superiority in the goodness, though not the number of cavalry, prevented the enemy from moving with rapidity or foraging. Having desired Major Magill to be particular in informing me what corps of militia, from this State, joined General Greene, he accordingly mentions that seven hundred men, under General Stevens, and four hundred from Botetourt, had actually joined General Greene; that Colonel Campbell was to join him that day with six hundred, and Colonel Lynch, with three hundred from Bedford, were shortly expected; the last three numbers being riflemen. Besides these mentioned by Major Magill, General Lawson must, before that time, have crossed the Roanoke with a body of militia, the number of which has not been stated to me. Report makes them one thousand, but I suppose the number to be exaggerated. Four hundred of our new levies left Chesterfield Court-House on the 25th of February,

and probably would cross the Roanoke about the 1st or 2d of March.

I was honored with your Excellency's letter of February 21st, within seven days after its date. We have, accordingly, been making every preparation on our part, which we were able to make. The militia, proposed to operate, will be upwards of four thousand from this State, and one thousand or twelve hundred from Carolina, said to be under General Gregory. The enemy are at this time in a great measure blockaded by land, there being a force on the east side of Elizabeth River. Though they have a free exit from Elizabeth River, they suffer for provisions, as they are afraid to venture far enough to maraud in any great degree, lest the French squadron should be in their neighbourhood, and come on them. Were it possible to block up the river, a little time would suffice to reduce them by want and desertions, and would be more sure in its event than an attempt by storm. I shall be very happy to have it in my power to hand you a favorable account of these two armies in the south. I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Iron Works, North Carolina,
10 March, 1781.

SIR,

Since I had the honor of addressing your Excellency last, there have been some changes in our circumstances. On the 2d, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with a detachment of riflemen, attacked the advance of the

British army under Colonel Tarleton, near Alamance, and killed and wounded, by report, about thirty of them. On the 6th, the British moved down towards High Rock, either with a view to intercept our stores, or cut off the light infantry from the main body of the army, then advanced near seven miles; but they were handsomely opposed, and suffered considerably, without effecting any thing.

This manœuvre occasioned me to retire over the Haw River, and move down the north side of it, with a view to secure our stores coming to the army, and to form a junction with several considerable reinforcements of Carolina and Virginia militia, and one regiment of Virginia eighteen-months' men, on the march from Hillsborough to High Rock. I effected this business, and the enemy retired towards Guilford Court-House. Our militia had been upon such a loose and uncertain footing ever since we crossed the Dan, that I could attempt nothing with confidence, though we kept within ten or twelve miles of the enemy for several days. The enemy kept close, seemingly determined that we should gain no advantage of them without risking something of consequence. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL PARSONS.

Reading, 14 March, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

In consequence of your Excellency's directions, I have to this time been pursuing the objects of the inquiry you have ordered; but have not been able

to make the discoveries wished for, with a sufficient degree of precision to make any attempt to secure the persons concerned.

I believe it is certain, that an association is formed to submit to the British Government on the terms of the last proclamation; that the number of associators is daily increasing; that their names are transmitted to New York as often as opportunity presents; that a register was kept of them in Newtown, but it is not certain that this register is now there, or can be found, if there; that a mode of conforming, different from that pointed out in the proclamation, is adopted; that many persons are engaged in the service of the enemy, who are preparing to join them; about forty have made attempts since I have been here, but were disappointed. Persons are also employed to enlist these men, and are in the pay of the enemy, with the promise of commissions. Regular stages of intelligence are established from the shores through the country to Canada. Despatches have lately gone through those channels to Vermont. I think it will be exceedingly difficult to detect the plan in its extent. So much caution is used by them, that my prospects are small of obtaining the register, or exposing to punishment any characters of importance. Some of their recruiting officers, some of the recruits, pilots, concealers of the enemy, and conveyers of despatches may be taken.

In the course of my inquiries I have been informed of a great number in Harseneck, Stamford, and Norwalk, who are supplying the enemy with provisions, who conceal them when they make their excursions from Morrisania and Long Island, and who keep up a correspondence and trade with the party at Lloyd's Neck. About forty of these I know, who

are now at home pursuing the same courses, and may be taken up; and I believe this is not a quarter part of those who are concerned, and, upon inquiry, may be exposed. By these pernicious practices, the morals of most of the young men in those towns have been dissipated, and a thirst for plunder and money has induced them to courses which have eventually driven many of them to the enemy.

It has become difficult to know what is best to be done in those towns. To make the inquiry thoroughly, and take up all concerned, will drive great numbers to the enemy; and to omit it, will put the few well-affected, who now remain there, wholly in the power of the enemy, notwithstanding every effort we can make to protect them. Whether it is best to apprehend all of them, or let them all remain, or to select out some who are most criminal, and punish them in the most exemplary manner, without disclosing the names of the other persons concerned, and try what effect that may have,—are doubts which I am unable to resolve. The same questions will arise respecting the associators, pilots, conveyers of intelligence, &c. In short, the evil has taken so deep root, it is become a subject of a very delicate nature, and difficult to know how far it is best to extend the inquiries.

The State have passed a law subjecting all persons coming into the State to plunder, and those who aid, assist, or in any way abet their measures, to trial by Courts-Martial; declaring those people not exchangeable, and to inflict capital or other discretionary punishments upon them. I must request your Excellency's particular directions how far I shall proceed in these matters, and what I shall do with the offenders, when apprehended. A temporary check may

be given to the intentions of the disaffected by securing a number of them at present; but no radical remedy is yet in my power.

I am persuaded they expect a descent on the coast in April, to favor their designs of joining the enemy, and furnishing supplies for them. What probability there is of the event taking place, you must be much better informed of. The spy, employed amongst them, has assurances of generous pay for all the time he employs and expenses incurred in this service; of a handsome gratuity when he has done what he can; to be settled in some more secure place, if he is detected and obliged to fly from his present settlements (which will be the case, if he is discovered); and, if he succeeds in discovering the full extent of the plan, so that the concerned may be detected, and it shall prove to be as extensive as is supposed, he shall be gratified with an annuity of one hundred dollars per annum for life, as a reward for his services. I believe him faithful and industrious in making the discoveries necessary.

If you think it best to delay taking up any of the concerned, until further discoveries are made, I should judge it most expedient for me to return to camp, leaving Captain Walker to prosecute the inquiries, lest my continuing here should occasion jealousies. I can return again, when any thing is prepared for execution.

I am, with great respect, &c.,

SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

York, 15 March, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The number of small frigates and privateers that are in the Bay, has made it impossible for me to carry the detachment farther down than Annapolis; and I have requested the Governor of Maryland, as well as the principal officers of the detachment, to give out that we were going to join General Greene. But the object of the expedition is so perfectly known everywhere, that our sole dependence to keep Arnold must be upon the apprehension he has of a French fleet being cruising off the Capes.

For my part, I came in a barge from Annapolis, and, very luckily, escaped the dangers that were in the way. Colonel Harrison will have given to your Excellency a minute detail of the reasons which have prompted me to this measure. I have taken his advice in the matter, and have no doubt but that your Excellency (considering the probability that no frigate would have been sent) will approve of the step I have taken, to forward as much as possible both the advantage of the expedition and the honor of the American arms.

On my arrival yesterday afternoon, I found that Baron de Steuben had been very active in making preparations, and, agreeably to what he tells me, we shall have five thousand militia ready to operate. This, with the Continental detachment, is equal to the business, and we might very well do without any land force from Newport.

By papers found in the baggage of a British officer (taken in a boat), it seems that General Gregory had a correspondence with the enemy. The Baron has

suspended him, but he is still with the troops. Arnold is so well acquainted with the coming of the detachment, and the object is so well known, that, as I said before, our only chance to keep him must be the idea of a French fleet being off the Capes. He is fortifying at Portsmouth, and trying to get provisions. There have been some trifling skirmishes with the militia. To my great disappointment, the French fleet have not yet appeared. If the project has not been given up, they must be expected every minute. They have had double the time which they wanted, and such winds as ought to have brought them in four days.

I wanted to hold up the idea of my going to the southward; but the Baron says that, if the detachment is not announced, the militia will desert. He wanted me to take the command immediately; but I thought it more polite not to do it until the detachment arrives, or operations are begun. In your first letter to the Baron, I wish, my dear General, you would write to him that I have been much satisfied with his preparations. I want to please him, and harmony shall be my first object. As in all cases (even this of my going to the southward, and coming here to make arrangements with the Baron), I would reconnoitre the enemy's works, I will take an opportunity of doing it as soon as possible. They have not been, as yet, reconnoitred by the Baron, and I think it therefore more necessary for me to see with my own eyes.

As I am just arrived, my dear General, I cannot give you a very exact account of matters. This letter I send by duplicate; and have the honor to be, with the highest respect and most tender affection, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, near the Iron Works,
10 miles from Guilford Court-House, 18 March, 1781.

SIR,

My letter to Congress, a copy of which I inclose to your Excellency, will inform you of an unsuccessful action with Lord Cornwallis on the 15th. Our prospects were flattering; and had the North Carolina militia seconded the endeavours of their officers, victory was certain. But they left the most advantageous position I ever saw, without scarcely firing a gun. None fired more than twice, and very few more than once, and near one half not at all. The Virginia militia behaved with great gallantry, and the success of the day seemed to be doubtful for a long time. The action was long and severe.

In my former letters I inclosed to your Excellency the probable strength of the British army, since which they have been constantly declining. Our force, as you will see by the returns, was respectable; and the probability of not being able to keep it long in the field, and the difficulty of subsisting men in this exhausted country, together with the great advantages which would result from the action, if we were victorious, and the little injury, if we were otherwise, determined me to bring on an action as soon as possible. When both parties are agreed in a matter, all obstacles are soon removed. I thought the determination warranted by the soundest principles of good policy, and I hope events will prove it so, though we were unfortunate. I regret nothing so much as the loss of my artillery, though it was of little use to us, nor can it be, in this great wilderness. However, as the enemy have it, we must also.

Lord Cornwallis will not give up this country without being soundly beaten. I wish our force was more competent to the business. But I am in hopes, by little and little, to reduce him in time. His troops are good, well found, and fight with great obstinacy.

I am very happy to hear the Marquis de Lafayette is coming to Virginia, though I am afraid, from a hint in one of Baron Steuben's letters, he will think himself injured in being superseded in the command. Could the Marquis join us at this moment, we should have a glorious campaign. It would put Lord Cornwallis and his whole army into our hands. I am also happy to hear, that the Pennsylvania line are coming to the southward. The mutiny in that line was a very extraordinary one. It is reported here to have proceeded from the great cruelty of the officers. A member of Congress writes this; but I believe it to be so far from the truth, that I am persuaded it originated rather through indulgence than from any other cause.

Virginia has given me every support I could wish, or expect, since Lord Cornwallis has been in North Carolina; and nothing has contributed more to this than the prejudice of the people in favor of your Excellency, which has been extended to me from the friendship you have been pleased to honor me with. The service here is extremely severe, and the officers and soldiers bear it with a degree of patience that does them the highest honor. I have never taken off my clothes since I left the Pedee. I was taken with a fainting last night, owing, I imagine, to excessive fatigue and constant watching. I am better to-day, but far from being well.

I have little prospect of acquiring much reputation

while I labor under so many disadvantages. I hope my friends will make just allowances; and as for vulgar opinion, I regard it not. Neither time nor health will permit me to write your Excellency upon many matters which are upon my mind. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Washington.

With esteem and regard I am, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Passy, near Paris, 24 March, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Upon my arrival here, I found that our Minister Plenipotentiary had received the instructions, &c., transmitted to him, and commenced the negotiation with which we were charged; and that he had received the following communication from the Count de Vergennes.

“It is impossible for his Majesty to favor a loan in this kingdom, because it would prejudice those which he has occasion to make himself for the support of the war; but his Majesty, to give the United States a signal proof of his friendship, grants them under the title of a donation, six millions of livres tournois. As the American army is in want of arms, clothing, &c., Mr. Franklin will be so good as to give a note of those articles; they will be procured of the best quality, and at the most reasonable price. General Washington will be authorized to give drafts for the remaining sum; but the drafts must be at long sight, in order to facilitate the payments from the Royal Treasury. The Courts of Petersburg and Vienna have offered their mediation. The King has

answered, that it would be personally agreeable to him, but that he could not as yet accept it, because he has allies whose concurrence is necessary. Mr. Franklin is requested to communicate the overture and answer to Congress, and to engage them to send their instructions to their Plenipotentiaries. It is supposed the Congress will accept the mediation with eagerness."

After my first interview with the Count de Vergennes, I presented to him a Memorial,* in which I transcribed the principal part of the letter your Excellency delivered to me at New Windsor, and represented the insufficiency of the succour proposed by his Majesty. I have since given in an extract of the estimate of the Board of War, accompanied with a letter, urging the necessity of despatch in furnishing those essential supplies. My personal solicitations have not been wanting to induce a prompt and favorable answer; but M. de Maurepas and the Count de Vergennes both inform me, that nothing can be determined until the return of M. de Castries, who is expected the day after to-morrow; that the matter must be deliberated, and they will consider what can be done. M. Necker will be consulted to-day.

M. de Vergennes complains very much of the excessive demands of Congress, and seems to entertain an idea that they wish to throw too much of the burden of the war on their ally. He says that the exertions and expense with which France supports the war in different parts of the world, fully employ her means; that her public credit has its limits, to surpass which would be fatal to it.

Upon the whole, my expectations are very mode-

* See this Memorial in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, Vol. IX. p. 211.

rate. The naval dispositions were made before my arrival; five ships of the line for the East Indies with troops; twenty, commanded by De Grasse, for the West Indies, twelve of which are to proceed to America. They will probably arrive on our coast in July. We have no news yet of their departure.

Your Excellency will see that I have written in a great hurry. In my next, I hope to be able to give you more particular intelligence of our affairs. In the mean time, I take the liberty of troubling you to present my respects to Mrs. Washington, my love to the family and the Marquis de Lafayette, the want of whose letters is a great disadvantage to me. My only hope of obtaining additional succour is founded on the exalted opinion which the Ministers have of your Excellency, and every thing which comes from you.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and most tender attachment, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Williamsburg, 25 March, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

My letter of the 23d to your Excellency will, I hope, be safely transmitted, as the bearer of it, Major McLane, assured me that in case he was obliged to lose the despatch-boat, he could find means to get ashore and forward the despatches by land.* In that letter, I gave to your Excellency an account of what had passed since I left Annapolis, and communicated

* See this letter in Washington's Writings, Vol. VII. p. 509.

the intelligence of a British fleet having anchored in Lynn Haven Bay. This account, however, you will have sooner received from the Governor of Virginia, than you might possibly from me. My position with the troops near Portsmouth being intended to reconnoitre the works, and get, on board of ships in Hampton Road, intelligence from the Capes was more speedily forwarded through Williamsburg, than it might have been in going around to Suffolk.

My surprise at not hearing of the French fleet was, I confess, very great, nor could I reconcile my mind to this uncertainty. But intelligence, received yesterday, has put it out of doubt, that they have done their best endeavours towards the coöperation; and my accounts being gathered from many quarters, and some men who were at the first engagement, your Excellency may depend upon their veracity.

On the 16th instant, both fleets fell in near the Capes with each other. They both consisted of eight ships of the line, fifties included, with the difference of twenty guns in favor of the enemy. Each ship of the line, and each frigate, singly engaged a partner, and the action lasted during three glasses. The enemy had two seventy-fours, much worsted; one of them had sixty-five men killed. The London suffered in her rigging, and the British fleet sheered off for the Chesapeake, while the French stood in a line formed in good order. The enemy have sent their wounded up to Portsmouth, taken all the sailors and marines at that place, and refitted their damaged ships. They were also reënforced from Portsmouth by the Charon, a forty-four, that can be made a fifty, and two large frigates. But it appears that our allies are determined to carry the point, and that the addition to the British force has not prevented them from appearing

near the Capes. Last morning the whole British fleet, with the reënforcement, went to sea, and about eleven o'clock we heard a furious cannonade, which lasted more than three hours.

The action must have been bloody and obstinate. Upon its event depends the fate of our expedition. I wish it had been in my power not to make your Excellency a partaker of our anxiety, until I might have known on what side victory has been. But the fresh winds that blew last night make it impossible to have any account this morning. I shall, therefore, send off the present intelligence, which has come last night to hand; and, as expresses with proper officers are stationed at Hampton, I shall speedily forward every account that appears to be certain and interesting.

I have directed that Arnold be circumscribed within his works on both sides of the Dismal Swamp. The water is still open to him, but every armed vessel in the river is getting ready to do what little service can be expected from them. The detachment at Annapolis is also ordered to be in the most perfect readiness. With the highest respect,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 27 March, 1781.

SIR,

I have the honor to send to your Excellency an open packet for the Count de Rochambeau. You will there find the copy of a letter to me from M. Destouches. I lament the ill success of an expedition,

which, if it had succeeded, would have been doubly agreeable to us by its utility to our allies, and by the honor it would have reflected upon the arms of the King. As to the rest, it appears that our Commanders have fulfilled this latter point; and all the world is satisfied that, having a superior force to contend against, the manner of the contest has been highly honorable to them.

I wait for happier events, Sir, from the campaign which is now about to open; and I doubt not the Count de Rochambeau has given you, in detail, the news which he has received from France.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 27 March, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

I am honored with your favor of the 28th ultimo, and am thankful for the contents. I have acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 29th of December, and shall give every encouragement to General Clark's intended enterprise. I wish he may be in readiness before the waters fail, and the Kentucky settlements are destroyed by the enemy. But I am informed that little or nothing hath as yet been done at his boat-yards, and that the militia he expected from this side of the mountain are availing themselves of the unsettled jurisdiction.

Since my last, a small paper was brought to me by some faithful Indians, who found it rolled up very neatly in a powder-horn, which a disaffected person had lost near the waters of the Sandusky. I take

the liberty to inclose a copy of it. I have discovered the writer, and put him in irons; but as, too probably, some of the garrison are concerned, he may escape before he meets the reward of his demerit. Indeed, this place is infested with such a set of disaffected inhabitants, that I have been under the necessity of ordering some away, and others must soon follow, to prevent greater injury to the service.

A number of Delaware Indians, from Coochocking, have been here since my last, and appear to be as friendly as ever. I am persuaded that a few are well affected; but they are now put to the trial, by being ordered to remove hither without loss of time, and remain under our protection, where their daily transactions will be seen and known.

I have called upon the county Lieutenants for a few of the militia; and if I am not disappointed as usual, I intend to surprise the Indian towns about Coochocking. Two Delaware Indians, who, in their cups, spoke contemptuously of our service, I have confined in irons; but I am at a loss what farther to do with them, until I see what number joins us, and hear what their general conduct has been. Immediately after the termination of the intended excursion, I will avail myself of your indulgence to represent the state of things in this district. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, &c.,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

P. S. By the arrangement, it appears that Captain Brady is arranged in the third Pennsylvania regiment; but, as he cannot be more useful than he is in this part of the country, I hope he will be permitted to remain until the campaign is closed.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

New Windsor, 27 March, 1781.

SIR,

There being no established principles to govern the appointments to the vacancies of officers in the artillery, some doubts have arisen since the last regulation of the army, whether the right of appointment is in Congress, as generally has been the case, or in the States in which the regiments of artillery are apportioned, as part of their quotas. This uncertainty has operated to the prejudice of the service, by keeping vacant many second Lieutenancies, which are highly necessary to be filled, as there is a great deficiency of officers of that rank.

The regiments of artillery having different origins, the appointments, of course, have been derived from different authorities. Colonels Lamb's and Crane's regiments were raised, and the officers appointed, by virtue of powers given your Excellency in December, 1776. Colonel Harrison's regiment was raised and appointed by the State of Virginia, under the authority of Congress. Colonel Proctor's was originally raised by Pennsylvania, as a State regiment, and afterwards taken upon the Continental establishment by a resolve of Congress. The new appointments, which have taken place since the first formation of the regiments, have been made by Congress, in consequence of the request and certificates of the officers commanding regiments, countersigned by the General Officer commanding the corps.

The promotions have been regimental to, and including, the rank of Captains, and to Field-Officers in the line of the corps at large. It is this principle which connects the regiments of artillery, and forms

them into one corps, and which, if taken away, will reduce it to so many distinct regiments, independent of each other, without cement or any other quality which will enhance its utility and reputation. If the States interfere in the appointments, it is apparent the connection between the different regiments will be destroyed; for the same power, which has a right to appoint, will claim a right to promote in case of vacancies; one is the consequence of the other. The distinction between the right of appointment and promotion, is too nice to be observed, or rather cannot be made.

We have the experience of our own service, in addition to that of others, that rank is esteemed an unalienable right, and the acquisition of it the highest reward of military virtue. The principles of promotion, therefore, ought to be fixed and certain, and so clear as not to be liable to be misunderstood. The artillery, being composed of troops from different States, no one State can have the direction of the promotion of the whole, or even a part; as a single promotion must affect the whole line. Congress only, with propriety, can make the appointments and promotions.

The qualifications requisite for an officer of artillery being materially different from those for an officer of infantry, great care ought to be taken that none are appointed but such as possess a proper proportion of knowledge of the mathematics, and other necessary abilities for the nature of the service. It is from the talents of the officers of artillery, improved by experience, that America may expect to derive an essential part of her military character. That the greatest caution should be observed in making the appointments, I would humbly propose

that they should originate with the Colonels of the regiments, who shall certify that the person recommended appears possessed of a proper proportion of mathematical knowledge, and such other qualifications as to make a good officer of artillery, and that this certificate should be countersigned by the General Officer commanding the corps, and by him transmitted to Congress; that the promotions should be regimental to Captains, and to Field-Officers in the line of the corps at large; and that the principles of the appointments and promotions be expressed in the most explicit terms.

I am persuaded, that unless the Honorable Congress immediately establishes a system for the appointments and promotion of artillery, the corps will soon be involved in the utmost confusion. The best of the officers, seeing the uncertainty of promotion, will be disgusted, and leave the service; and the present state of the artillery, which has been the work of years, may be ruined in an hour, by the premature promotion of an individual State. If your Excellency should view this matter in the same point of light, I beg you would be pleased to make such a representation to Congress, as may prevent the evils apprehended.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, at Colonel Ramsay's,
on Deep River, 29 March, 1781.

SIR,

Inclosed, I send your Excellency a copy of my letter to Congress, for your information respecting

the operations in this department. The Marquis de Lafayette has arrived in Virginia; but I believe his troops are still in Maryland. Some days since I sent Colonel Morris to confer with the Marquis, and see if he has your Excellency's permission to go farther southward. I received a letter from him on the road, acquainting me that there was an account from Richmond, of Admiral Arbuthnot's arriving in the Chesapeake, with six ships of the line and upwards of thirty transports, with a considerable reënforcement. If this report is true, our flattering prospects are at an end in that quarter. Nothing more can be expected than confining the enemy in their fortifications. It would afford me great relief, if the detachment under the Marquis could proceed farther southward. But I fear the state of the Northern army will not admit of this, nor am I informed of the latitude your Excellency had given him on that subject.

The regular troops will be late in the field, if they are raised at all. Virginia, from the unequal operation of the law for drafting, is not likely to get many soldiers. Maryland, as late as the 13th of this month, had not got a man; nor is there a man raised in North Carolina, or the least prospect of it. In this situation, remote from reënforcements, inferior to the enemy in numbers, and no prospect of support, I am at a loss what is best to be done. If the enemy falls down towards Wilmington, they will be in a position where it would be impossible for us to injure them, if we had a force. In this critical and distressing situation, I am determined to carry the war immediately into South Carolina. The enemy will be obliged to follow us, or give up their posts in that State. If the former takes place, it will draw the war out of this State, and give it an opportunity to raise

its proportion of men. If they leave their posts to fall, they must lose more there than they can gain here. If we continue in this State, the enemy will hold their possessions in both. All things considered, I think the movement is warranted by the soundest reasons, both political and military. The manœuvre will be critical and dangerous, and the troops exposed to every hardship. But, as I share it with them, I hope they will bear up under it with that magnanimity which has already supported them, and for which they deserve every thing of their country.

I expect to be ready to march in about five days, and have written to General Sumpter to collect the militia to aid the operations. I am persuaded the movement will be unexpected to the enemy, and I intend it shall be as little known as possible. Our baggage and stores, not with the army, I shall order by the route of Saura Towns and Shallow Ford, to Charlotte. By having them in the upper country, we shall always have a safe retreat, and from those inhabitants we may expect the greatest support. I shall take every measure to avoid a misfortune. But necessity obliges me to commit myself to chance; and, I trust, my friends will do justice to my reputation if any accident attends me.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

NATHANAEAL GREENE.

P. S. Inclosed, I send you a general return of the army.

FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Albany, 3 April, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Your Excellency's obliging favor of the 23d of last month I had the pleasure to receive on the 31st following. It was exceedingly mortifying to me, that the Senate was so thin of members when your lady honored us with a visit, that my attendance could not be dispensed with, even for a day. I was, consequently, deprived of affording that attention which inclination, esteem, and the most friendly feelings, impelled me to. She saw my embarrassments, and, with a good nature and complaisance which at once charmed and captivated, made every allowance.

The motives which led Congress to postpone filling the War department have leaked out, and been communicated to me. General Gates was in nomination; but his friends, reflecting that the impropriety of appointing him before he had exculpated himself from the imputation of misconduct in his command, would be too glaring an abuse of power, deferred it, in hopes that, by an acquittal, the public confidence will be restored to him. But surely the gentlemen who intend him the office, neither consult his reputation nor the public interest. Not the former, because his inability to discharge it will certainly draw disgrace on him; nor that of the latter, for, if even he was competent, he ought to be precluded, as the inveterate enmity which he bears to you, and which will influence him the more for being groundless, will lead him, without hesitation, to reject or thwart the most salutary measures you may propose. Gracious God! How much it is to be lamented that rulers, charged

with the affairs of an empire, will sacrifice the best interests of their constituents to little, narrow-minded prejudices, and local politics, favorable only to their unworthy sycophants ! That they will close their eyes to the evident advantages which would result from choosing men to fill the great offices of the State, who have a mutual confidence in each other, and will give mutual support to every measure calculated to promote the public weal. The man in question, I fear, will also embarrass the Financier ; for he has not the least idea of public economy in his composition, nor do I believe that they entertain much esteem for each other.

I most sincerely lament that a plan so judiciously formed as that you mention in confidence, should be defeated by those who would have reaped so much credit from the success which would, in all human probability, have ensued, and the glory of having rendered so essential a service to the allied powers.* My heart realizes your feelings on the occasion, and cordially sympathizes with yours. You have the weakness of some, and the wickedness of others, to encounter ; obstacles and embarrassments to surmount, which blunderers, with one object, and without system, daily create, as well as those which unavoidable accidents and events, which none can foresee, occasion. But I trust the day is rapidly advancing, when an astonished world will know what it would be improper to communicate now, and feel what they ought, an increase of gratitude, that best affliction of the human heart.

May your next despatches from the southern

* Alluding to a plan proposed to the Commanders of the French army and fleet at Newport, for a combined expedition to Virginia.

quarter relieve you from the disagreeable situation which the torture of doubt and suspense occasions, and announce some capital advantage over the enemy. Mrs. Schuyler and my daughter join me in affectionate regards to you and your lady. Be pleased to make my compliments acceptable to Colonel Harrison, and the other gentlemen of your family. I am, with great esteem and regard,

And most affectionately, &c.,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM GOVERNOR NASH.

Newbern, 4 April, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the honor to write your Excellency a few lines from General Greene's camp, dated the 18th ultimo, as the express was just going off, as I arrived at the General's. I hope you were good enough to excuse the hasty manner in which it appeared to have been written. I am now just arrived home from camp, and have the pleasure to acquaint you that our worthy and excellent General, with his little distressed though successful army, has in turn driven his Lordship over Cape Fear River. This he passed, as the General informs me, on the 28th, with great precipitation, leaving several dead of his late wounded, unburied, and leaving his bridge over the river undestroyed. The General was very near overtaking the enemy at this place, but says he must now make a halt, as a considerable part of the Virginia militia were leaving him, and as his army was distressed for provisions.

I have assured him that the powers of the State

shall be exerted to the utmost to support him; and that, in aid of the provision made by law for the support of the army, I had, with the advice of my Council Extraordinary, demanded from the inhabitants of the whole State (those reduced by the contending armies excepted), one fifth part of all their bacon and other salted meat, and had appointed proper officers in every county to collect this contribution immediately. And as this State has lately suffered so much, and been in such imminent danger of being entirely overrun and ruined by the enemy, I have every reason to hope the requisition will meet with no opposition.

The State is now busily employed in drafting their regulars for our four battalions; and as the militia, by a late law, are subjected, in case they desert their colors in time of action and run away, to the condition of Continental soldiers during the war, we expect to derive some good from the evil they did in running away from the enemy in the action of the 15th, at Guilford; and I am sorry, on this occasion, to acknowledge that the most important advantages were that day lost by the shameful conduct of our men. All ranks of people here seem now fully sensible of the necessity of having a regular and well-appointed army, and that the country cannot be any other way effectually defended. The British, with their small force at Wilmington, still keep that post, and are kept in it by a party of our militia, who have once had a successful skirmish with them. It is pretty certain, from my last letters from General Greene, that Lord Cornwallis, with his army, is now at Cross Creek. The General does not hint what he expects will be his Lordship's next enterprises. If the General allows him, it is not improba-

ble he will now take some rest. With the highest respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ABNER NASH.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STARK.

Derryfield, 9 April, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

The lingering illness, which occasioned my leaving camp, still attends me. But notwithstanding my physical ills, I have undertaken the business of sending the recruits of this State to the army, and have detained several officers that were on furlough in the State, to conduct parties. I hope that this measure, which has every appearance to be for the public good, will meet your approbation. With this letter, I suppose you will be joined by about fifty levies. Between forty and fifty have already marched from Exeter, and I expect about fifty more will march, by the last of this week.

A number of deserters have come voluntarily and delivered themselves up to me, since my arrival in the State. I could wish that their treatment might be as favorable as possible. I am persuaded, if an act of grace was published, a great number of soldiers, now prevented from delivering themselves up, for fear of punishment, would return to their duty with pleasure.

I attended the General Assembly last week, and urged all in my power their exertions for filling up the quota of troops for the army; and am happy to acquaint you, that I think they will do as well as their abilities will permit. It is entirely uncertain,

when I shall be able to join the army ; but as soon as the situation of my health will justify the measure, I shall lose no time in repairing to my duty. In the mean time, that health may attend you, and success your glorious undertakings, is the ardent wish of, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,
JOHN STARK.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Passy, near Paris, 11 April, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Not to trouble your Excellency with a detail of writings, conferences, attendances, and importunities, I pass at once to the result, as communicated to me by the Count de Vergennes. It is his most Christian Majesty's determination to guarantee a loan of ten millions of livres, to be opened in Holland, in favor of the United States, in addition to the gratuitous gift of six millions granted before my arrival, and four millions appropriated for the payment of bills of exchange drawn by Congress. The value of the clothing, ordnance, and military stores, of which articles I have delivered an estimate, reduced in proportion to the quantities already obtained and forwarded by Dr. Franklin, is to be deducted from the six millions.

The distance of the manufacturing towns from the sea, renders it impossible to procure the woollen cloths at a short notice. The Marine department, which the Marquis de Lafayette imagined, from the similarity of uniforms, might be able to give us some assistance, has no reserve stores of this kind. The dif-

ferent regiments in the land service provide their own clothing; so that there will be unavoidable difficulties and delays in procuring the quantity demanded.

I am using my utmost efforts to prevail upon the Ministers to advance the ten millions from the treasury of France, and avail themselves of the proposed loan in Holland, for replacing the sum. This arrangement, it appears to me, can be attended with no possible inconvenience to the finances of France, and I need not add to your Excellency how invaluable this gain of time will be to America. I shall likewise endeavour to negotiate the ordnance and other military effects that may be supplied from the King's arsenal, on credit, to economize as much as possible the six millions. The Marquis de Castries has promised to make immediate arrangements for forwarding the supplies, and has renewed his assurances that a naval superiority will exist on the American coast the ensuing campaign. But there are not those dispositions made for maintaining it, that the success of the common cause demands; and I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that the Ministry do not seem to approve of the siege of New York as an operation for the ensuing campaign. What may be the effect of farther and more particular conferences on the subject, I cannot determine.

Inclosed your Excellency will receive extracts of letters intercepted in a packet bound from Falmouth to New York. They were communicated to me by the Marquis de Castries, but do not appear to have made that impression on him and the rest of the Ministry which was reasonably to be expected.

It mortifies me much, not to be able to announce to your Excellency the day of my departure from this country. It is impossible to express the impa-

tience which I feel to return to my military functions, and to have opportunities of proving to your Excellency that I am unalterably, with the profoundest veneration and most tender attachment,

Your Excellency's faithful aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S. I must trouble your Excellency to present my respects to Mrs. Washington, my love to the Marquis de Lafayette, Colonel Hamilton, and the rest of the family.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.*

Susquehanna Ferry, 13 April, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

Had your Excellency's answer to my letter of the 8th been forwarded with an equal celerity with your favor of the 6th, I should have received it before this time. But whatever change my new situation could make in your Excellency's dispositions, I thought it my duty in the meanwhile to obey the positive orders I had received. The troops are now crossing the ferry, and will, with all possible speed, proceed to Richmond.

By a letter just received from General Greene, I find that he is strongly of opinion that I must go to the southward. His intention is to carry the seat of war into South Carolina, thereby preventing a junc-

* The expedition to Virginia not having been carried into effect, Lafayette returned with his detachment to the Head of Elk, where he received orders from General Washington to march to the south, and put himself under the orders of General Greene. See two letters from him, dated April 8th and 18th, in Washington's Writings, Vol. VIII. p. 512, 513.

tion between Arnold and Cornwallis. He gives me many excellent reasons to justify the movement. He requests me to move to Richmond; and this will, if possible, increase my zeal to execute your Excellency's orders. General Greene's opinion is, that Lord Cornwallis will fall down towards Wilmington. His own project is, to carry the war into South Carolina. Under these circumstances a corps of light infantry, embarked at Philadelphia on board a light squadron, might have been upon the seat of war in a very short passage. I cannot help fearing, my dear General, that our campaign will take a defensive turn, which is far from answering our first plans and expectations.

Major Macpherson is with me as a volunteer. That officer has most zealously employed himself, and has been most dangerously exposed in the discovery of a plot made to furnish the enemy with provisions. He has managed this matter with infinite address, being for two days and one night with six soldiers, who, as well as himself, put on the air of British, and in company with a spy who thought them to be the enemy; and, by a most violent gale of wind, crossed the Bay in a small boat, by which means he was made sensible that a trade of flour is carried on with the enemy from the western shore of Maryland; and saved a magazine of eight hundred barrels of Continental flour, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the enemy. In case we proceed southerly, perhaps it will be possible for General Greene to give Major Macpherson a command in some detachment; and I should be happy, if he was recommended to him by your Excellency.

My determination being to go on with rapidity, unless I am recalled, your Excellency may easily

judge of my movements from the answer I shall probably receive in a few hours. Was I to assure your Excellency, that this journey is perfectly agreeable to the troops, I should not use that candor which you have so many rights to expect. But their zeal and discipline insure their readiness to obey. I shall do my utmost to prevent desertion; and, unless I am recalled, I shall proceed with celerity. But I beg your Excellency to remember, that experience has often taught us how much reduced has ever been the number of our troops, from the time of their departure to that of their arrival at the Southern army.

With the highest and most affectionate respect, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Newburg, 14 April, 1781.

SIR,

I had the honor to inform you, on my return from Philadelphia, of what passed there relative to the means of procuring the numerous supplies requisite in my department for the ensuing campaign; and was unhappy that no prospect was presented of my obtaining a single shilling for that end. As the only alternative, therefore, I submitted to your Excellency's judgment the expediency of calling on the several States to furnish camp equipage for their own troops respectively; which proposal you was pleased to approve. This also corresponds with the articles of Confederation, wherein it is declared (article nine), that Congress shall make requisitions from each State for its quota of troops, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State

shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States.

I therefore now beg leave to lay before your Excellency the inclosed estimates of tents, knapsacks, and haversacks requisite for the troops of the four New England States. If in this mode these can be supplied, the general provision made and making will be adequate to the demands of the other troops composing the main army. In these estimates I have omitted camp-kettles, because they are not to be procured in the Eastern States, and I hope to obtain them from Pennsylvania. Canteens are making in Massachusetts for the whole main army.

I have made the estimates in detail, that, by inspection only, your Excellency might judge of the propriety of the proposed allowances of camp equipage. I thought, too, that in this form they would be more satisfactory to the States themselves than a general demand. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM BARON STEUBEN.

Chesterfield Court-House, 15 April, 1781.

SIR,

The expedition against Portsmouth having failed, my first care was to save those articles which had, at so much trouble and expense, been collected for that purpose. And here I must do justice to this State for their efforts on this occasion. I can, with truth, say that every possible preparation was made.

The expectations of the people were accordingly very great, but not so much so as the consternation they were thrown into by the arrival of the British fleet with a reënforcement.

The Marquis has doubtless communicated to your Excellency the project I had formed before his departure. Lord Cornwallis being then in the environs of Hillsborough, I proposed to Government to march with the whole of the militia, and by forced marches cross the Roanoke, and, in conjunction with General Greene, fall on his Lordship before the enemy here could have time to form any plan. This manœuvre, I flattered myself, would at least drive Cornwallis from North Carolina, and probably, by obliging General Phillips to follow us with all his force, have removed the seat of war from this State.

I submitted this plan to the Marquis, to General Weedon, and to Colonel Gouvion, who approved it. On my way to Richmond I met Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, who came directly from General Greene. He informed me that his Lordship had already begun to retire towards Cross Creek, and that General Greene wanted a reënforcement to enable him to pursue with vigor. This served to strengthen my opinion; and, as I had then upwards of four thousand militia together, I confined my requisition to two thousand men, whom I only required for thirty or forty days. The answer of Government to this proposition I have the honor to inclose. The perplexity the arrival of the reënforcement had thrown them into, together with the Marquis's retiring at this juncture to the northward, made them reject every idea not tending to the immediate defence of the State. My situation here is not the most agreeable, obliged to undertake the defence against three thou

sand regular troops, with nothing to oppose to them but militia, whose numbers decrease every day. Those who have served since the beginning of the invasion have discharged themselves, and are not yet replaced by others; in consequence of which General Muhlenberg is left on the south side of the river with only seven hundred men, and General Weedon on the north side with about six hundred men. If the enemy have any intention to penetrate the country, the opposition we can make will avail little.

A very great evil resulting from this invasion is, that it stops the recruiting for the army. So long as a county has any militia in the field, so long that county is prevented from drafting; and as most of the counties have had part of their militia either here or with General Greene, little or nothing has yet been done in the business. Only fifty-two have yet come in; and of these some have already deserted. Some who came as substitutes have received twenty-five and thirty thousand pounds* for eighteen months.

I am much at a loss what to do for arms, when the recruits do come in. I had reckoned on those by M. de Tilly; and I must entreat your Excellency to order them on by land, as we have not the least prospect of a single musket any other way. We shall also be much distressed for ammunition. General Greene presses me for a supply, whilst I can scarce find enough to supply the militia. The Marquis has sent one hundred thousand cartridges to Fredericksburg; these I will take care to forward to General Greene. Your Excellency has, I presume, been informed that the lead mines have given out. This article is not now to be had here. If the East-

* This amount was of course in the paper currency of the time.

ern States do not send us a supply, we shall be sadly at a loss. Powder is also scarce. A powder-mill, near this, was blown up some time since, supposed by an emissary of the enemy. I imagine Maryland would furnish some, on application of the Board of War.

Another important and very difficult object is, remounting the cavalry. The Assembly have passed a law limiting the price of horses for the cavalry at five thousand pounds, a price inadequate to the purchase of the meanest horse. Very indifferent horses, which have been impressed, have been valued from twenty to thirty thousand pounds and upwards. Nothing, therefore, can possibly be done till the meeting of the Assembly. The Southern army will require, at least, three hundred cavalry horses for next campaign. I suppose thirty guineas to have been the old price of such horses. Allowing now forty guineas, the whole will amount to twelve thousand guineas. The price must be limited, or the Continent will not be able to pay the expense of remounting two regiments of cavalry. I beg your Excellency's directions for my guide in making a proper representation to the Assembly, which meets the 10th of next month. Swords will also be much wanted for the cavalry. I have ordered six hundred to be made at Mr. Hunter's works, but dare not reckon on them in time. Cartridge-boxes are an article the State cannot furnish. If possible, two thousand should be sent immediately from Philadelphia.

The little success I have had in creating the line of this State, and in furnishing the necessary supplies for the Southern army, induced me to request General Greene to call me to the army. He has, however, refused me, and in such a manner as to engage me.

if possible, to redouble my zeal in assisting him from this quarter. I lament only that the invasion not only takes up a part of my attention, but prevents those succours which might otherwise be expected. The number of troops of this State diminishes greatly. When I first arrived here, Colonel Buford had five hundred men with him. Since then, I have sent from hence eight hundred rank and file, exclusive of sergeants, music, waiters, and wagoners; and, by Colonel Morris's account, they have not now more than seven hundred men in the field. Some speedy and effectual measures must be taken to stop such desertion, or it will be in vain to raise men at such an expense.

I shall be much obliged to your Excellency to order the Commissary of Prisoners to send me, as soon as possible, a list of the southern officers exchanged, that I may order them to join. Many refuse to act, from not having received official accounts of their being exchanged. I inclose to your Excellency a representation of the officers of the Virginia line against General Weedon, the propriety of which Congress and your Excellency will judge. A copy has been sent to the Board of War. The enemy, in Portsmouth, are busied in strengthening their works, and in building boats. They have, also, some parties in Princess Ann, and about five hundred men in Norfolk.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

STEUBEN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Alexandria, 23 April, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Great happiness is derived from friendship; and I do particularly experience it in the attachment which unites me to you. But friendship has its duties, and the man that likes you the best will be the forward-est in letting you know every thing where you can be concerned.

When the enemy came to your house, many negroes deserted to them. This piece of news did not affect me much, as I little value those concerns. But you cannot conceive how unhappy I have been, to hear that Mr. Lund Washington went on board the enemy's vessels, and consented to give them provisions. This being done by the gentleman who, in some measure, represents you at your house, will certainly have a bad effect, and contrasts with spirited answers from some neighbours, that had their houses burnt accordingly. You will do what you think proper about it, my dear General; but, as your friend, it was my duty confidentially to mention the circumstances.

With the help of some wagons and horses, we got in two days from the camp, near Baltimore, to this place. We halted yesterday, and having made a small bargain for a few shoes, are marching to Fredericksburg. No official account from Phillips. But I am told they are removing stores from Richmond and Petersburg. I am surprised nobody writes to me; and hope soon to receive intelligence.

Our men are in high spirits. Their honor having been interested in this affair, they have made it a point to come with us; and discontents, as well as

desertion, are entirely out of fashion. Requesting my best respects to be presented to Mrs. Washington, and compliments to the family, I have the honor to be, with those sentiments which you know, my dear General,

Your most obedient servant and friend,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. The Chevalier writes me, that Count de Rochambeau is going to join you, so that both armies will coöperate. I had rather remain in Virginia than go to Carolina. This I mention, because orders are to come from General Greene. But, if the detachment is to go more southerly, I will go there as fast as I can.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 23 April, 1781.

SIR,

On the 18th instant, the enemy came from Portsmouth up James River, in considerable force, though their numbers precisely are not yet known to us. They landed at Burwell's Ferry, below Williamsburg, and near the mouth of Chickahominy, above it. This latter circumstance obliged Colonel Innes, who commanded a body of militia stationed on that side the river, to cover the country from depredation, to retire upwards, lest he should be placed between their two bodies. One of these entered Williamsburg on the 20th, and the other proceeded to a ship-yard we had on Chickahominy. What injury they have done there, I am not yet informed. I take for granted they have burnt an unfinished twenty-gun ship we had there.

Such of the stores belonging to the yard, as were movable, had been carried some miles higher up the river. Two small galleys also retired up the river. Whether by this, either the stores or galleys were saved, is as yet unknown.

I am just informed, from a private hand, that they left Williamsburg early yesterday morning. If this sudden departure was not in consequence of some circumstance of alarm unknown to us, their expedition to Williamsburg has been unaccountable. There were no public stores there, but those which were necessary for the daily use of the men stationed there. Where they mean to descend next, the event alone can determine. Besides harassing our militia with this kind of war, their being taken from their farms at the interesting season of planting their corn, will have an unfortunate effect on the crop of the ensuing year. I have heard nothing certain of General Greene, since the 6th instant, except that his head-quarters were on Little River on the 11th.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

De Peyster's Point, 27 April, 1781.

SIR,

I imagine your Excellency has been informed that, in consequence of the resolution of Congress for granting commissions to Aids-de-camp appointed under the former establishment, I have obtained one of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army of the United States, bearing rank since the 1st of March 1777.

It is become necessary to me to apply to your

Excellency to know in what manner you foresee you will be able to employ me in the ensuing campaign. I am ready to enter into activity whenever you think proper, though I am not anxious to do it till the army take the field, as, before that period, I perceive no object. Unconnected as I am with any regiment, I can have no other command than in a light corps, and I flatter myself my pretensions to this are good.

Your Excellency knows I have been in actual service since the beginning of 1776. I began in the line; and had I continued there, I ought, in justice, to have been more advanced in rank than I now am. I believe my conduct, in the different capacities in which I have acted, has appeared to the officers of the army in general such as to merit their confidence and esteem; and I cannot suppose them to be so ungenerous as not to see me with pleasure put into a situation still to exercise the disposition I have always had of being useful to the United States.

I mention these things only to show that I do not apprehend the same difficulties can exist in my case (which is peculiar), that have opposed the appointment to commands, of some other officers not belonging to what is called the line. Though the light infantry is chiefly formed, yet being detached to the southward, I take it for granted there will be a vanguard by detachment formed for this army. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, 1 May, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

My public letters to Congress will inform your Excellency of our situation in this quarter. We fight, get beat, and fight again. We have so much to do and so little to do it with, that I am much afraid these States must fall, never to rise again; and, what is more, I am persuaded they will lay a train to sap the foundation of all the rest.

I am greatly obliged to your Excellency for ordering the Marquis to the southward. I propose to halt him in Virginia, until the enemy's plan of operations is better known. Baron Steuben will join this army. He, having offended the Legislature of Virginia, cannot be as useful there as he has been. The Marquis is desired to keep your Excellency advised of all matters in that quarter, as it is too far first to come to this army and then be sent back again.

When I was appointed to the command of this army, I solicited Congress to give Dr. McHenry a majority, that he might serve me in the character of Aid. This they refused. I was persuaded, when I made the application, of the necessity, and since have felt it most sensibly. Your Excellency can scarcely tell how happy you are in your family, and therefore can hardly judge of my situation. I cannot make a second application to Congress on the subject, nor should I have hopes of succeeding, if I did; but I shall esteem it a peculiar mark of your Excellency's friendship and esteem, if you will interest yourself in the matter, and get him a majority. Your Excellency will judge of the propriety of my request; and if my wishes have prompted me to ask any thing

that does not accord with your opinion or your feelings, I must beg you to decline the measure, and excuse me.

It is a long time since I received a line from Mrs. Greene. I am afraid they have miscarried, before they got to head-quarters. I am sorry that you had not leisure to call on her on your return from Newport. She would have thought herself greatly honored, and been peculiarly happy on the occasion.

With the greatest respect and esteem, I am, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

De Peyster's Point, 2 May, 1781.

SIR,

I am extremely sorry to have embarrassed you by my late application, and that you should think there are insuperable obstacles to a compliance with it. Having renounced my expectations, I have no other inducement for troubling your Excellency with a second letter, than to obviate the appearance of having desired a thing inconsistent with the good of the service, while I was acquainted with the circumstances which made it so.

I was too interested a spectator of what happened in the case of Major Macpherson, not to have remarked and not to recollect all the circumstances. The opposition turned ostensibly on his being a Brevet Officer, yet having a command in a corps formed entirely from one line. The propriety of his being employed in a detachment from the army at large, so far as I remember, was not disputed. In delicacy to Major Macpherson, no personal objections were formally made; but in reality they existed, and contri-

buted to the discontent. It was thought a peculiar hardship, that a gentleman who had for a long time fought against us, and had not taken part with us till a late period, and when our affairs had assumed a more prosperous aspect, should be preferred in one of the most honorary commands of the service. Your Excellency must be convinced that I mention this in no other view than to show the sentiments of the officers at the time, and the whole grounds of the opposition. My esteem for Major Macpherson, and other reasons, make it impossible I can have a different intention.

I know less of the motives of dissatisfaction in the cases of Colonel Gimat and Major Galvan; but I have understood that it is founded on their being appointed in the light corps for two successive campaigns.

It would be uncandid in me not to acknowledge that I believe a disposition to exclude Brevet Officers, in general, from command, has a great share in the opposition in every instance, and that, so far, it affects my case. But, at the same time, it appears to me, this principle, alone, can never be productive of more than momentary murmurs, when it is not seconded by some plausible pretext. I also am convinced that the Pennsylvania officers, for their own sakes, repented the rash steps they had taken, and, on cool reflection, were happy in an opportunity to relinquish their menaces of quitting a service to which they were attached by habit, inclination, and interest, as well as by patriotism. I believe, too, we shall never have a similar instance in the army, unless the practice should be carried to excess. Major Galvan, I am told, will probably be relieved. Colonel Gimat will then be the only Brevet Officer remaining in command. Your Excellency is the best judge of

the proper limits; and there can be no doubt that the rights of particular officers ought to give place to the general good and tranquillity of the service.

I cannot forbear repeating that my case is peculiar, and dissimilar to all the former. It is distinguished by the circumstances I have before intimated. My early entrance into the service; my having made the campaign of 1776, the most disagreeable of the war, at the head of a company of artillery, and having been entitled, in that corps, to a rank equal in degree, more ancient in date, than I now possess; my having made all the subsequent campaigns in the family of the Commander-in-chief, in a constant course of laborious and important service;—these are my pretensions, at this advanced period of the war, to being employed in the only way which my situation admits; and I imagine they would have been weighty in the minds of the officers in general. I only urge them, a second time, as reasons which will not suffer me to view the matter in the same light with your Excellency, or to regard as impracticable my appointment in a light corps, should there be one formed. I entreat they may be understood in this sense only. I am incapable of wishing to obtain any object by importunity.

I assure your Excellency that I am too well persuaded of your candor, to attribute your refusal to any other cause than an apprehension of inconveniences that may attend the appointment. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. I have used the term Brevet in the sense your Excellency appears to have understood it, as

signifying, in general, all officers not attached to any established corps. Congress seem, however, to have made a distinction; they only give a kind of warrant to those whom they designate as Brevet Officers. Mine is a regular commission.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, near Bottom's Creek, 4 May, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I request you will receive my affectionate acknowledgments for your kind letters. Every mark of friendship I receive from you adds to my happiness, as I love you with all the sincerity and warmth of my heart; and the sentiment I feel for you goes to the very extent of my affections. Inclosed, I send you, my dear General, two copies of letters to General Greene, which I also have sent to Congress for their information. You will also find copies of the strange letters I have received from General Phillips, and the answers, which, if he does not behave better, will break off our correspondence.

The leaving of my artillery appears a strange whim. But had I waited for it, Richmond was lost, and Major Galvan, who has exerted himself to the utmost, cannot be with us under two days, as he could never obtain or seize horses for the artillery and ammunition wagons. It is not without trouble I have made this rapid march. General Phillips has expressed to an officer, on flag, the astonishment he felt at our celerity; and when, on the 30th, as he was going to give the signal to attack, he reconnoitred our position, Mr. Osburn, who was with him,

says that he flew into a violent passion, and swore vengeance against me and the corps I had brought with me.

I am, however, uneasy, my dear General, and do not know what the public will think of our conduct. The little dependence we put upon their militia, I cannot expose in an official letter. I cannot say that no boat, no wagons, no intelligence, not one spy could be obtained; that if once I had been manœuvring with Phillips, he had every advantage over me; that a defeat would have scattered the militia, lost the few arms we have, and knocked down this handful of Continental troops. A great deal of mischief had already been done. I did not know but that the enemy meant to establish a post. Under these circumstances, I thought it best to fight on none but my own grounds, and to defeat the main and most valuable object of the enemy. Had I gone on the other side, the enemy would have given me the slip, and taken Richmond, leaving nothing to me but the reputation of a rash, inexperienced young man. Our stores could not be removed.

No orders from General Greene have as yet come to me. I cannot conceive the reason of his delay in answering my letters. In the meanwhile, Phillips is my object; and if, with a thousand men, I can be opposed to three thousand in this State, I think I am useful to General Greene. In a former letter, he tells me his object is to divide the enemy; and having no orders, I must be regulated by his opinion. I wish he would call for the Pennsylvanians, and leave me here. The enemy are gone down the river. I have detached some militia to Hood's, where I mean to make a fort. Colonel Innes, with another corps of militia, is gone towards Williamsburg. His orders

are, in case the enemy land there, to annoy them, and in case they mean to establish a post, he is to disturb them until I arrive. This position is sixteen miles from Richmond, forty-two from Williamsburg, sixty from Fredericksburg. I have sent an officer to Point Comfort, and established a chain of expresses to know if they appear to turn towards the Potomac. Should it be the case, Fredericksburg will have my attention. Having missed Richmond, Mr. Hunter's Works, at Fredericksburg, must be their next object, as they are the only support of our operations at the southward.

Your first letters, my dear General, will perhaps tell me something more about your coming this way. How happy I should be to see you, I hope I need not to express. As you are pleased to give me the choice, I shall frankly tell my wishes. If you co-operate with the French against the place you know,* I wish to be at head-quarters. If something is co-operated in Virginia, I shall find myself very happily situated. For the present, in case my detachment remains in this State, I wish not to leave it, as I have a separate and active command, though it does not promise great glory. But, as you gave me leave to do it, I shall in a few days write to you more particularly on my private concerns. It is not only on account of my own situation, that I wish the French fleet may come into the Bay. Should they come, even without troops, it is ten to one that they will block up Phillips in some of the rivers, and then I answer he is ruined. Had I but ships, my situation would be the most agreeable in the world.

Adieu, my dear General. You will make me happy

* New York.

to write me sometimes. With the highest respect,
and most tender affection,

I have the honor to be, yours,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Richmond, 8 May, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

There is no fighting here, unless you have a naval superiority, or an army mounted upon race-horses. Phillips's plan against Richmond has been defeated. He was going towards Portsmouth, and I thought it would be enough for me to oppose him at some principal points in this State. But now it appears I shall have business to transact with two armies, and this is rather too much. By letters from North Carolina I find that Lord Cornwallis, who, I had been assured, had sailed for Charleston, is advancing towards Halifax. In consequence of letters from the same quarter, General Phillips has altered his plan, and returned to a place called Brandon, on the south side of James River, where he landed the night before last. Our detachment is under march towards the Halifax road. His command of the water enabled him to land where I could not reach him. The bridge at Petersburg is destroyed; and unless he acts with an uncommon degree of folly, he will be at Halifax before we are. Each of these armies is more than double the superior to me. We have no boats for militia, and less arms. I will try to do for the best, and hope to deserve your approbation.

Nothing can abstract my sight from the supplies and reënforcements destined to General Greene's ar-

my, while I am going to get beaten by both armies, or each of them separately. The Baron remains at Richmond, where he hurries the collection of recruits, and every other requisite. I have forbidden every department to give me any thing that may be thought useful to General Greene; and should a battle be expected (an event which I will try to keep off), no consideration will prevent our sending to Carolina eight hundred recruits, who, I hope, may be equipped in a fortnight. When General Greene becomes equal to offensive operations, this quarter will be relieved. I have wrote to Wayne to hasten his march; but, unless I am very hard pushed, I shall request him to proceed southward. The militia has been ordered out, but are now unarmed, and not yet used to this business. General Greene, from whom I have as yet no letters, was, on the 26th, before Camden, but did not think himself equal to the storming of the works.

Most respectfully, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Richmond, 9 May, 1781.

SIR,

Since the letter, which I had the honor of last addressing to your Excellency, the military movements in this State have scarcely merited communication, except a very late one. The enemy, after leaving Williamsburg, came directly up James River, and landed at City Point, being the point of land on the southern side of the confluence of Appomattox and James Rivers. They marched up to Petersburg, where they were received by Major-General Baron

Steuben with a body of militia somewhat under one thousand, who, though the enemy were two thousand three hundred strong, disputed the ground very handsomely two hours, during which time the enemy gained one mile only, and that by inches. Our troops were then ordered to retire over a bridge, which they did in perfectly good order. Our loss was between sixty and seventy, killed, wounded and taken. The enemy's is unknown; but from circumstances of probability it must have been equal to ours. For their own honor they must confess this, as they broke twice, and ran like sheep, till supported by fresh troops. An inferiority of number obliged our force to withdraw about twelve miles upwards, till more militia should be assembled. The enemy burnt all the tobacco in the warehouses at Petersburg and its neighbourhood. They afterwards proceeded to Osborne's, where they did the same, and also destroyed the residue of the public armed vessels, and several of private property, and then came to Manchester, which is on the hill opposite to this place.

By this time, Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette, having been advised of our danger, had, by forced marches, got here with his detachment of Continental troops; and reënforcements of militia having also come in, the enemy, finding we were able to meet them on an equal footing, thought proper to burn the warehouses and tobacco at Manchester, and retire to Warwick, where they did the same. Ill-armed and untried militia, who never before saw the face of an enemy, have, at times during this war, given occasion of exultation to our enemies. But they afforded us, while at Warwick, a little satisfaction in the same way. Six or eight hundred of their picked men, of the light infantry, with General Arnold at their

head, having crossed the river from Warwick, fled from a patrol of sixteen horse, every man into his boat as he could, some pushing north, and some south, as their fears drove them.

Their whole force then proceeded to the Hundred, being the point of land within the confluence of the two rivers, embarked, and fell down the river. Their foremost vessel had got below Burwell's Ferry on the 6th instant, when, on the arrival of a boat from Portsmouth, and a signal given, the whole crowded sail up the river again, with a fair wind and tide, and came to anchor at Brandon. There, six days' provision were dealt out to every man. They landed, and had orders to march an hour before day the next morning. We have not yet heard which way they went, or whether they are gone; but, having about the same time received authentic information that Lord Cornwallis had, on the 1st instant, advanced from Wilmington half way to Halifax, we have no doubt, putting all circumstances together, but that these two bodies are forming a junction.

We are strengthening our hands with militia, as far as arms, either private or public, can be collected; but cannot arm a force which may face the combined armies of the enemy. It will therefore be of very great importance that General Wayne's forces be pressed on with the utmost despatch. Arms and a naval force, however, are what must ultimately save us. This movement of our enemies, we consider as most perilous in its consequences.

Our latest advices from General Greene are of the 26th ultimo, when he was lying before Camden, the works and garrison of which were much stronger than he had expected to find them.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, at McCord's Ferry, on the Congaree,
14 May, 1781.

SIR,

I wrote your Excellency on the 5th, from near Camden, by Captain O'Hara. On the 10th, that place was evacuated by the enemy. They left it with great precipitation, after burning the greater part of their baggage, and stores belonging to the inhabitants. They also burnt the jail, mill, and several other houses, and left the town little better than a heap of rubbish. They left all our men, wounded on the 25th, amounting to thirty-one, and fifty-eight of their own, and three officers, who were all too badly wounded to be moved. It is confidently asserted, by several people of the place, that the enemy suffered, in the late action, not less, in killed and wounded, than three hundred men.*

Upon the enemy's evacuation, we immediately took possession of the place, and the works are levelling, a plan of which is herewith inclosed. Had the Virginia militia arrived in time, the garrison would have fallen into our hands, as they would have enabled us to have invested it on all sides, and the garrison had neither provision nor stores to hold out a siege, the detachments below, operating under General Marion and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, having cut off their supplies, particularly the article of salt, of which the garrison was entirely destitute.

On the 9th, the army marched for this place. On the 11th, the post of Orangeburg, commanded by a

* The action here referred to, was that of Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden.

Colonel, and consisting of upwards of eighty men and several officers, part British, surrendered to General Sumpter, who, by his address, so intimidated the garrison, in the disposition of his artillery and troops, as to produce a surrender of a very strong post, without loss of time or men. Great quantities of provision, and some other stores, were found at this.

On the 12th, Fort Mott surrendered to General Marion. The garrison consisted of upwards of one hundred and forty men, one hundred and twenty of whom were British and Hessian, and seven or eight, officers. The place was invested on the 8th, and the approaches carried to the foot of the *abatis* before it surrendered. The redoubt was exceedingly strong, and commanded by Lieutenant Macpherson, a very gallant officer. Great credit is due to General Marion, and the few militia that continued with him in the reduction of this post. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee's legion, and the detachments serving with him under Major Eaton, Captains Finley, of the artillery, and Oldham and Smith, of the infantry, were indefatigable in prosecuting the siege. There were taken at the fort, one carronade, about one hundred and forty stand of arms, a quantity of salt, provisions, and other stores, returns of which shall be forwarded hereafter.

When we began our march towards Camden, from Deep River, I wrote to General Pickens to endeavour to collect a body of the militia to lay siege to Augusta and Ninety Six; and both places are now invested. As soon as the Virginia militia join us, I am in hopes to be able to make such detachments from this army as will effect their reduction. The fort at Friday's Ferry will be invested by to-morrow morning. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, and some of the detachment serving under him, marched

for this purpose last evening. The army marches for that place this morning.

The last intelligence I had from Lord Rawdon, he was near Nelson's Ferry, where the enemy have a post, the stores at which were moving for Charleston, which indicates an evacuation. Generals Sumpter and Marion are watching their motions. If proper exertions were made to support the southern war, the enemy would soon be convinced that, if they divide their force, they will fall by detachments, and, if they operate collectively, they cannot command the country. Captain Pierce, one of my Aids, who is out watching the motions of Lord Cornwallis, informs me that he is on his march towards Halifax, from Duplin Court-House. Should he push his operations in that quarter, I shall leave the army here, under the command of General Huger, to effect the reduction of the remaining posts, and join the troops collecting to the northward. Inclosed I send your Excellency copies of several letters found among the papers of Lieutenant Macpherson.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

Hartford, 15 May, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

I arrived here yesterday afternoon, found the General Assembly sitting, and presented your letter to Governor Trumbull, together with a representation, containing the spirit of my instructions. This morning I attended the Governor, Council, and the Representatives in the Council Chamber, when the papers

were read, and I had an opportunity to speak on them. The papers were committed to a Committee of both Houses. I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency, they had that attention paid to them which their interesting importance required. A resolution has passed to send on immediately one hundred and sixty head of beef-cattle, which, it is supposed, will amount to five thousand rations per day, to the 1st of June. One thousand barrels of salted meat are also to be forwarded with the greatest despatch, with a quantity of rum. There are about a thousand barrels of salted meat deposited in this town; it has been repacked, and is well stored. I shall endeavour, in the morning, to obtain a return of the whole quantity which has been procured in this State. I believe an accurate return has never been given in of the whole.

An addition is made to the Committee of both Houses, who are to proceed to the consideration of the great supply for the campaign. Their resolutions on this head I think will equal your expectations. I have sent an express to Mr. Phelps, to forward all the beef-cattle he can command, without a moment's delay. I shall proceed to Rhode Island to-morrow.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM HEATH.

FROM JOSEPH JONES.

Philadelphia, 16 May, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Having returned to Congress a few days only, and private matters requiring my attention for great part of the time, I have not been able regularly to attend

to business, or to acknowledge the receipt of your favor transmitted to Philadelphia, after my leaving it, and sent after me to Virginia by Mr. Madison. The moment for successful operations against our enemies was certainly immediately after the disaster in Gardiner's Bay, when, had it been embraced, the port at Portsmouth, and the troops under Arnold, as well as the British ships then in Virginia, must have fallen an easy conquest to our united efforts; for which purpose the State was, I believe, in readiness.

Abortive as the project has proven, we yet hope for the best, and that still it may be in the power of our ally to give us effectual aid in the Chesapeake; and, believe me, at no time was it more necessary than at present, when all the lower country of our State, from its great navigable waters, is exposed to the ravage and rapine, not only of British ships of war, but of the vessels employed by the Board of Refugee Commissioners in New York. To you it is unnecessary to describe the distress of the inhabitants upon the navigable waters of Virginia. Your knowledge of the country enables you sufficiently to judge of it, exclusive of such information as, I doubt not, you receive from that quarter. Had we a sufficient stock of arms, distressing as it is to our militia to be so generally out on duty, as it must be to them at this season of the year, I think they would do much in opposition to the enemy, supported even by no considerable body of regulars. But, wanting arms, their negroes flying from them, and their prospects of making little or nothing from their estates to support their families and bear the burdens of the war, may shake their fidelity and attachment to the cause so far as to slacken their exertions, if some succour is not afforded them by water,

to restrain the ravage of these plunderers. I mention these things as facts falling under my own observation before I left the State, that, if they have not been more particularly communicated by others, you might hear some intimation of them.

The late movements of Cornwallis and Phillips indicate a junction of their armies on the Roanoke, from whence they may direct their operations north or south, as they shall see best, without the fear of successful opposition; or may, it would seem, cut off all communication between Virginia and the other Southern States, and reduce General Greene to the greatest extremity. From these dangers, that at present threaten us, a naval force sent to the Chesapeake would at once relieve us, and admit Virginia to afford that succour to the other Southern States they so much need. The great object of the enemy is undoubtedly the Southern States; and it is submitted to your reflection, how far you can support them by your influence, in the destination of such aids as may arrive from Europe, or the operation of that force now here. We are told all the ships of war have left New York, with about two thousand troops, after having once put back. Adieu! Pardon the haste of this letter, which is written in Congress, in consequence of the President's information that an express was coming off for head-quarters.

Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH JONES.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, Wilton, on James River, 17 May, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

My correspondence with one of the British Generals, and my denial of a correspondence with the other, may be perhaps misrepresented. I shall therefore give an account of what has passed, and hope your Excellency and General Greene will approve of my conduct. On the arrival of our detachment at Richmond, three letters were brought by a flag, which I have the honor to inclose, and which, as Commander of the troops in this State, it became my duty to answer. The inclosed letters were successively sent in pursuit of General Phillips, who received them both with a degree of politeness that seemed to apologize for his unbecoming style.

General Phillips being dead, of a fever, an officer was sent with a passport and letters from General Arnold. I requested the gentleman to come to my quarters; and having asked *if General Phillips was dead*, to which he answered in the negative, I made it a pretence not to receive a letter from General Arnold, which, being dated *head-quarters*, and directed to the Commanding Officer of the American troops, ought to come from the British General, chief in command. I did, however, observe, that should any other officer have written to me, I would have been happy to receive their letters.

The next day the officer returned with the same passport and letter, and informed me that he was now at liberty to declare that Phillips was dead, and Arnold was Commander-in-chief of the British army in Virginia. The high station of General Arnold

having obliged me to an explanation, the inclosed note was sent to the officer of the flag, and the American officer verbally assured him that, was I requested to put in writing a minute account of my motives, my regard for the British army was such that I would cheerfully comply with the demand.

Last evening a flag of ours returned from Petersburg, who had been sent by General Nelson from the advanced corps he commands, and happened to be on his way while the British officer was at our pickets. Inclosed is the note written by General Arnold, in which he announces a determination of sending our officers and men to the West Indies. The British General cannot but perfectly know that I am not to treat of partial exchanges; and that the fate of the Continental prisoners must be regulated by a superior authority to that with which I am invested. With the highest respect,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL CLARK.

Pittsburg, 21 May, 1781.

SIR,

I this moment received yours of the 25th of April. The intelligence is by no means alarming to me; it corresponds with my former suspicion. I have for several years past kept up a constant chain of intelligence from the Lakes through the channel of the Illinois inhabitants. And a few hours after yours, I received despatches from the Mississippi and St. Vincent's; — the whole a confirmation of your Excellency's hints, except that part of their [not] coming by

the way of the Alleghany River, but rather through the western pass, as more immediately among the Indian nations, whom they would wish to have with them. And what greatly favors the idea is, that upwards of one thousand Wabash Indians have again declared themselves in our favor, and of course will draw their attention that way for some time, for fear that our troops in that quarter, reënforced by those Indians, should make a diversion on the Lakes, while they had drawn off their forces to Pittsburg. For in fact it has been the influence of our posts on the Illinois and Wabash that has saved the frontiers, and in a great measure baffled the designs of the enemy at Detroit. If they get possession of them, they will then command three times the number of valuable warriors they do at present, and be fully enabled to carry any point they aim at, except we should have a formidable force to oppose them.

I am well acquainted with Colonel Connolly, and should be happy to meet him on equal terms. If his dependence is principally on Indians, and we should fortunately get into the field before him, he will probably meet with a disappointment. But should he be independent of them, our circumstances will be truly deplorable, except we had other measures of drawing the inhabitants of this country to the field besides persuasive arguments, which are too much our dependence at present. I wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on this subject, but received no answer. I cannot think any thing of importance is to be expected by the way of Venango, but much to be apprehended from the other quarter. I refer you to Captain Randolph for the news of this quarter.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE R. CLARK.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Philadelphia, 22 May, 1781.

SIR,

I have been honored with your letter of the 12th instant, declaring to me that no charge having been brought against me before your Excellency, the Court of Inquiry into my conduct could proceed upon no other principle, in the military way, than the resolve of Congress, of the 5th of October last. Having been informed that Congress had no charge against me, I transmitted to them, by the President, your Excellency's last letter. Their inclosed resolve is the result; and I conceive that your intention, pointed as it was, has been mistaken.*

This evening, I wrote to his Excellency the President, that "before our disaster at Camden, had a resolve of Congress ordered that every Commanding Officer, who shall not beat the enemy, must be recalled, and subjected to a Court of Inquiry, whether

* The following are the Resolves of Congress here alluded to.

"*October 5th, 1780.* Resolved, that the Commander-in-chief be, and hereby is directed to order a Court of Inquiry to be held on the conduct of Major-General Gates, as Commander of the Southern army.

"Resolved, that the Commander-in-chief be, and hereby is directed to appoint an officer to command the Southern army, in the room of General Gates, until such inquiry be made."

"*May 21, 1781.* Resolved, that the resolutions of the 5th of October last, directing a Court of Inquiry to be held on the conduct of Major-General Gates, as Commander of the Southern army, and directing the Commander-in-chief to appoint an officer to command the Southern army, in the room of General Gates, until such inquiry be made, did not operate as a suspension of General Gates from his command in the line of the army at large, as a Major-General; and as, from the situation of affairs in the Southern department, such Court of Inquiry cannot be speedily held, that Major-General Gates be informed, that he is at liberty to repair to head-quarters, and take such command as the Commander-in-chief shall direct."

or not any crime be laid to his charge, I would as patiently submit to my fate, as officers who surrender a fort, or lose a ship. The special resolve of Congress dooms me to temporary disesteem, and loss of confidence." For these reasons, Sir, I can neither with advantage to the public, nor honor to myself, accept, under my present circumstances, the proffered indulgence of Congress.

Convinced that you have done every thing, which propriety could admit, to protect slandered officers against anonymous accusations, I will set out to-morrow morning for Virginia, where I shall wait for your Excellency's orders.

With sincere thanks for the army in general, and myself in particular, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

HORATIO GATES.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Richmond, 24 May, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

My official letter, a copy of which I send to Congress, will let you know the situation of affairs in this quarter. I ardently wish my conduct may meet with your approbation. Had I followed the first impulse of my temper, I would have risked something more. But I have been guarding against my own warmth; and this consideration, that a general defeat, which, with such a proportion of militia, must be expected, would involve this State and our affairs in ruin, has rendered me extremely cautious in my movements. Indeed, I am more embarrassed to move, more crippled in my projects, than we have been in the Northern States.

Had the Pennsylvanians arrived before Lord Cornwallis, I was determined to attack the enemy, and have no doubt but what we should have been successful. Their unaccountable delay cannot be too much lamented, and will make an immense difference in the fate of this campaign. Should they have arrived time enough to support me in the reception of Lord Cornwallis's first stroke, I should still have thought it well enough; but, from an answer of General Wayne, received this day, and dated the 19th, I am afraid that at this moment they have hardly left Yorktown.*

Public stores and private property being removed from Richmond, this place is a less important object. I do not believe it would be prudent to expose the troops for the sake of a few houses, most of which are empty. But I am wavering between two inconveniences. Were I to fight a battle, I should be cut to pieces, the militia dispersed, and the arms lost. Were I to decline fighting, the country would think herself given up. I am, therefore, determined to skirmish, but not to engage too far; and particularly to take care against their immense and excellent body of horse, which the militia fear as they would so many wild beasts.

A letter from General Greene to General Sumner is dated May 5th, seven miles below Camden. The Baron is going to him with some recruits, and will get some more in North Carolina. When the Pennsylvanians come, I am only to keep them a few days, which I will improve as well as I can. Cavalry is very necessary to us. I wish Lauzun's legion could come. I am sure he will like to serve with me; and

* In Pennsylvania. The troops under General Wayne left that town on the 26th of May.

as General Greene gave me command of the troops in this State, Lauzun might remain with me in Virginia; if not, Sheldon's dragoons might be sent. As to Moylan, I do not believe he will be ready before a long time.

Were I any ways equal to the enemy, I should be extremely happy in my present command; but I am not strong enough even to get beaten. Government, in this State, has no energy, and laws have no force. But I hope this Assembly will put matters upon a better footing. I had a great deal of trouble to put the departments in a tolerable train. Our expenses were enormous; and yet we can get nothing. Arrangements, for the present, seem to put on a better face, but for this superiority of the enemy, who will chase us wherever they please. They can overrun the country; and, until the Pennsylvanians arrive, we are next to nothing in point of opposition to so large a force. This country begins to be as familiar to me as Tappan and Bergen. Our soldiers are hitherto very healthy, and I have turned doctor to regulate their diet. Adieu, my dear General. Let me hear sometimes from you. Your letters are a great happiness to your affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. As I am for the present fixed in the command of the troops in this State, I beg it as a great favor that you will please to send me Colonel Gouvion. Should a junction be made with General Greene, he will act as my Aid-de-camp. My respects, if you please, to Mrs. Washington, and compliments to the family.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL CLARK.

Fort Pitt, 26 May, 1781.

SIR,

Reduced to the necessity of taking every step to carry my point the ensuing campaign, I hope your Excellency will excuse me in taking the liberty of troubling you with this request. The invasion of Virginia put it out of the power of the Governor to furnish me with the number of men proposed for the enterprise to the west; but he informed me he had obtained leave of the Baron Steuben, and agreeably to your letters, for Colonel John Gibson and regiment, together with Heth's company, to join my forces, — an addition, he supposed, of more worth than the militia we were disappointed of. On consulting Colonel Brodhead, he could not conceive that he was at liberty to suffer them to go, as your instructions were pointed respecting the troops and stores to be furnished by him. From your Excellency's letters to Colonel Brodhead, I conceived him to be at liberty to furnish what men he pleased. I am convinced he did not think as I do, or otherwise he would have had no objection, as he appeared to wish to give the enterprise every aid in his power.

The hope of obtaining a grant of those troops has induced me to address your Excellency myself, as it is too late to consult Governor Jefferson farther on the subject. Wishing to set out on the expedition early in June, as our stores of provisions are nearly complete, if our force should be equal to the task proposed, I cannot conceive that this post, with a very small garrison even of militia, will be in any danger, as it is attached to a populous country, and,

during our time in the enemy's, McIntosh and Wheeling will be useless, or might also be garrisoned by small parties of militia. Those I know to be your Excellency's ideas. If you should approve of the troops in this department joining our forces, though they are few, the acquisition may be attended with great and good consequences, as two hundred only might turn the scale in our favor. The advantage that must derive to the States from our proving successful, is of such importance that, I think, it deserved a greater preparation to insure it.

But I have not yet lost sight of Detroit. Nothing seems to threaten us but the want of men. But even should we be able to cut our way through the Indians, and find they have received no reënforcements at Detroit, we may probably have the assurance to attack it, though our force may be much less than proposed, which was two thousand; as defeating the Indians, with inconsiderable loss on our side, would almost insure us success. Should this be the case, a valuable peace with them will probably ensue. But, on the contrary, should we fall through in our present plans, and no expedition take place, it is to be feared that the consequences will be fatal to the whole frontiers; as every exertion will be made by the British party to harass them as much as possible, and disable them from giving any succours to our eastern or southern forces. The Indian war is now more general than ever. Any attempts to appease them, except by the sword, will be fruitless.

Captain Randolph waits on your Excellency for an answer to this letter, which, I flatter myself, you will honor me with immediately. Colonel Gibson, who commands in the absence of Colonel Brodhead, will keep the troops ready to move at an hour's

warning; conducting myself as though this request was granted, impatiently waiting for the happy order.

It is with gratitude I thank your Excellency for the honor you have done me in your several letters. The greatest earthly happiness I could possibly enjoy would be to conduct myself with such propriety, as to be entitled to your esteem.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE R. CLARK.

FROM GOVERNOR JEFFERSON.

Charlottesville, 28 May, 1781.

SIR,

I make no doubt you will have heard, before this shall have the honor of being presented to your Excellency, of the junction of Lord Cornwallis with the force at Petersburg under Arnold, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Major-General Phillips. I am now advised, that they have evacuated Petersburg, joined at Westover a reënforcement of two thousand men just arrived from New York, crossed James River, and, on the 26th instant, were three miles advanced on their way towards Richmond, at which place Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette lay with three thousand men, regulars and militia, that being the whole number we could arm, till the arrival of the eleven hundred arms from Rhode Island, which are about this time getting to the place where our public stores are deposited. The whole force of the enemy within this State, from the best intelligence I have been able to get, I think is about seven thousand men, infantry and cavalry, including also the small garrison left at Portsmouth. A num-

ber of privateers and small vessels, which are constantly ravaging the shores of our rivers, prevent us from receiving any aid from the counties lying on navigable waters; and powerful operations, meditated against our western frontier by a joint force of British and Indian savages, have, as your Excellency before knew, obliged us to embody between two and three thousand men in that quarter.

Your Excellency will judge from this state of things, and from what you know of your own country, what it may probably suffer during the present campaign. Should the enemy be able to produce no opportunity of annihilating the Marquis's army, a small proportion of their force may yet restrain his movements effectually, while the greater part is employed in detachment, to waste an unarmed country, and to lead the minds of the people to acquiescence under those events which they see no human power prepared to ward off. We are too far removed from the other scenes of war, to say whether the main force of the enemy be within this State; but I suppose they cannot anywhere spare so great an army for the operations of the field. Were it possible for this circumstance to justify, in your Excellency, a determination to lend us your personal aid, it is evident, from the universal voice, that the presence of their beloved countryman, whose talents have been so long successfully employed in establishing the freedom of kindred States, to whose person they have still flattered themselves they retained some right, and have ever looked up as their dernier resort in distress,—that your appearance among them, I say, would restore full confidence of salvation, and would render them equal to whatever is not impossible.

I cannot undertake to foresee and obviate the diffi-

culties which stand in the way of such a resolution. The whole subject is before you, of which I see only detached parts; and your judgment will be formed on view of the whole. Should the danger of this State and its consequence to the Union be such as to render it best for the whole that you should repair to its assistance, the difficulty would then be how to keep men out of the field. I have undertaken to hint this matter to your Excellency, not only on my own sense of its importance to us, but at the solicitations of many members of weight in our Legislature, which is not yet assembled, to speak their own desires. A few days will bring to me that period of relief which the Constitution has prepared for those oppressed with the labors of my office; and a long-declared resolution of relinquishing it to abler hands, has prepared my way for retirement to a private station. Still, however, as an individual citizen, I should feel the comfortable effects of your presence, and have (what I thought could not have been), an additional motive of that gratitude, esteem and respect with which

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 1 June, 1781.

SIR,

I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 23d of the past month, and that of the Count de Rochambeau, with which it was accompanied.

I wait with extreme impatience the news of the arrival of the French division before New York; and no one can desire more warmly than I do to see it under your immediate command. I hoped most fervently that you would have been this spring in the command of a more considerable body of auxiliaries. The causes which have hindered the execution of that plan have been so urgent and so decisive, that I am sure you will approve them, after I shall have had the honor of making you acquainted with them. I have nevertheless been much pained that I could not explain to you this change of measures; and my attachment to the cause which you defend has made me feel, as sensibly as any citizen of America, all the delays which could happen to the assistance which we wish to give to the thirteen States.

I am impressed with the necessity of maintaining a perfect confidence with your Excellency upon these different points, and I shall seize the first occasion which presents itself to visit your army.

In the mean time, I am going to transmit to the Count de Grasse what your Excellency did me the honor to communicate. Be persuaded that I shall use the most pressing motives to determine him, and I shall do it with so much the more zeal, as I feel the necessity of it. I shall transmit to that General an extract of your letter; and nothing appears to me more likely to give weight to the demand which I shall make from him.

The King has charged me, Sir, to inform Congress, that he grants them a gratuitous subsidy, to enable them to make the greatest efforts in the course of this campaign. This subsidy, amounting to six millions of livres tournois, is to be employed in the purchase of arms, ammunition, and clothing; and it is

the intention of the King, that the surplus shall be at the disposal of Congress. I have not been instructed, as to what will be the exact amount of this surplus; but in the mean time it is determined that one million and a half shall be employed by the Superintendent of Finances of the thirteen States, according to the directions which you shall give him, and after the arrangements which you shall make with him in the visit which he intends making you.

I have informed Congress, and I intrust it to your Excellency, that the Emperor and the Empress of Russia have offered their mediation to the Court of London, which has accepted it. It has also been offered to the Court of Versailles and that of Madrid. But they have given for answer, that time must be left to Congress to determine, if it suits them to put the interests of the thirteen States into the hands of the Mediators. In any event, it is of the greatest importance that the allies make all their efforts to drive the enemy from this Continent; and nothing will be more likely than the success of the confederate arms, to make a successful negotiation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

FROM JOHN CADWALADER.

Annapolis, 5 June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

As Captain Fitzhugh goes immediately to headquarters, I cannot omit so good an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter dated about three months since, and thanking you for the sentiments of esteem you so warmly express towards me.

It is unnecessary to repeat the information relating to the movements of the enemy in Virginia, as you must be acquainted with every particular in an official way.

You know so much better than I do the causes of those misfortunes which have reduced us to our present deplorable situation, that I shall not give you the pain which a recital of ill-judged measures must occasion. I wish past errors may teach us wisdom in conducting our future operations. The idea entertained by most people, that the war was near a close after the treaty was concluded with France, has excluded every proposal for establishing system, and continued those temporary expedients, which were introduced at the commencement of the war, and which have brought us to the brink of ruin. To recover the lost confidence of the people is certainly the first step to be taken, and this cannot be done by mere declarations of the Legislature; we must give every proof in our power of our future honest intentions. Acts of violence may procure clothing and provisions for the army; but these are not sufficient to prevent discontents and a general mutiny. We must find money to pay our troops, and this cannot be obtained by any other means than such as tend to restore public credit; and how to effect this, the wisest men among us are at a loss to determine. We certainly have the means in our possession; but the difficulty is to draw them forth. A Committee of the Whole House had these great points under consideration for several days; and, after sitting in silence for hours, without any one venturing to suggest a remedy, we resolved to submit them to a Committee of both Houses. With them the matter rests. We have, however, passed a law for the seizure of clothing

and provisions, and six hundred horses for the army. We have resolved to raise, immediately, seven hundred and fifty negroes, to be incorporated with the other troops; and a bill is now almost completed.

The people, from every information, are generally disposed to act with spirit. But the means of extensive opposition is not in our power for [want of] arms; and I fear the measures taken to provide fixed ammunition will not afford us a timely and necessary supply. After carrying on a war for six years, we might reasonably expect that affairs would be conducted with some degree of method; but we have derived no advantages from so much experience.

That the enemy intend to make the Southern States the scene of action the ensuing campaign, is past a doubt; and the consequences are easily foreseen, unless considerable reinforcements very soon arrive, either from France or the Northern army. But with these, I see no prospect of doing any thing to effect whilst the enemy have the command of the navigation. You know so well the difficulties I allude to, that it is unnecessary to recite them. The possession of these States must be of the last importance to the enemy; because in these they possess the tobacco, rice, indigo, and naval stores, which to them, perhaps, are more valuable than all the other States together. These, too, are separated by a great natural line from the other States; and it appears to me more than probable, considering all circumstances, that Great Britain finds it impracticable to possess themselves of all America, and is now preparing to conquer these States, in hopes that the powers of Europe, by their interposition, will secure them to her.

You, however, can best determine where your pre-

sence is most necessary, nor do I presume to advise, being satisfied that whatever you determine upon will best promote the public service. But, permit me, Sir, to express that my wishes, and the wishes of every person with whom I converse, are, that you may think it necessary to take the command of the Southern army. Your presence, we conceive, may create an unanimity and vigor that would relieve us from the dangers that threaten us, and that must otherwise overwhelm us.

I have made a tender of my services to the Executive; but whether they will honor me with a command or not, I shall not remain a distant spectator. I have the honor to be,

With the greatest esteem, &c.,

JOHN CADWALADER.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Chantilly, 12 June, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,

Although our correspondence has been long interrupted, I hope that our friendship never will, notwithstanding the arts of wicked men, who have endeavoured to create discord and dissension among the friends of America. For myself, having little but my good wishes to send you, it was not worth while to take up your attention a moment with them. The contents of this letter will, I am sure, require no apology, because you always approve that zeal which is employed in the public service, and has for its object the public good.

The present state of our country, Sir, is such as to demand the most immediate and most effectual in-

terposition to prevent the numerous resources of Virginia from becoming means, in the hands of our enemies, for subduing the liberties of North America. For, though the efforts of this State have been not quite so strong as its abilities warranted, yet when it shall be placed under the sword of a conqueror, such resources will be found, and such powers drawn from it, as will put the liberties of North America in imminent peril. My following opinion is not founded upon vain apprehensions, but upon good materials and attentive observation.

Virginia, it is true, has nine times the number of men that now threaten its ruin; but they are dispersed, unarmed, without system, government, and very little probability at present of the Legislature assembling. The enemy's army is in the heart of the country, employing, with exquisite industry, every engine that force and fraud can move, to effect a conquest of the whole, or far greater part, immediately. I think, Sir, that they will succeed, if adequate prevention be not presently applied. When the enemy's army began to move, after the junction of their troops, in force much superior to the Marquis, the Assembly adjourned to Charlottesville, where they were never able to collect members sufficient to form the Legislature, before they were dispersed by five hundred of the enemy's light-horse, with as many light infantry mounted behind, as we learn from some of the flying Delegates. The Governor had resigned his office, but no successor had been appointed; and Mr. Digges, the Lieutenant-Governor, it seems has been made a prisoner, and released upon parole; whilst there is, in the present state of things, little chance for a meeting of the Assembly to apply the feeble remedy which their choice of a Governor would amount to.

Thus we remain without Government, at a time when the most wise and most vigorous administration of public affairs can alone save us from the ruin determined for us by the enemy. I have taken the liberty of communicating my thoughts on this subject to Mr. Lovell, in a letter, a copy of which I have now the honor to inclose to you, together with a letter from your brother, who agrees perfectly with me in sentiment; and, I verily believe, there is not a good citizen, or friend to the liberty of America, in the State, who does not wish that the plan proposed may immediately be adopted. I have written in the same manner to Colonel Bland and Mr. Jones, our Delegates in Congress.

It would be a thing for angels to weep over, if the goodly fabric of human freedom, which you have so well labored to rear, should, in one unlucky moment, be levelled with the dust. There is nothing I think more certain than that your personal call would bring into immediate exertion the force and the resources of this State, and its neighbouring ones, which, directed as they would be, will effectually disappoint and baffle the deep-laid schemes of the enemy. By seizing the fine horses on James River, they have mounted a gallant and most mischievous cavalry of five or six hundred in number. We have plenty of horses left, to be sure, but we are deficient in proper accoutrements; though I understand that the Marquis is endeavouring to mount a thousand men as quickly as possible, to control the boundless ravage of the enemy's horse. Some of the dispersed Delegates report it as extremely probable that our collected stores in the north fork of James River have fallen into the enemy's hands, as their cavalry were a little above, and the main body of their army

not far below, directing its course to the north fork, which was guarded only by seven or eight hundred new levies under Baron Steuben.

Our country is truly, Sir, in a deplorable way, and, if relief comes not from you, it will probably come not at all. I have heard it reported in this country, that General Wayne dislikes being commanded by the Marquis. If this should be unhappily true, the consequences will be obvious to you. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend,

And most obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.*

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES CLINTON.

Albany, 15 June, 1781.

SIR,

I have been honored with your Excellency's favors of the 28th ultimo, and 5th and 10th instant. I am

* The following extracts are taken from the letter to Mr. Lovell, mentioned above.

"It is impossible for a person, so attentive as I have always been, not to know that the final and fierce designs of our enemies are levelled at us, and through us, I apprehend, at the liberties of North America; for, however feeble the resources of this country may have been under Republican government, if it is once placed under the sword of a conqueror, such efforts and such resources will appear as to put the liberties of the rest in very imminent peril. I love liberty, and wish that the whole human race enjoyed it; and I have a peculiar affection for that of the eastern part of this Union. Let me entreat you, therefore, Sir, and your worthy associates from the east, not to slumber a moment over our present actual state. Decision, despatch, and much wisdom are indispensably necessary, or I verily believe we shall soon be lost to ourselves and you. I do not write under any influences of vain apprehensions, but from the cool, considerate dictates of judgment founded upon good

informed by Colonel Cortlandt, that the stores are all safely brought down from Fort Schuyler to the German Flats, and the old fort entirely destroyed. Major Villefranche has arrived, and will proceed immediately to erect the intended work at the Flats, which, from our very embarrassed circumstances, I fear will be attended with many difficulties, though I have reason to believe the inhabitants will contribute every assistance in their power to complete it.

The six companies under Colonel Van Schaick, and the regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Antill, have arrived, which, together with the troops already stationed here, are disposed of in the following manner. The first New York regiment is stationed at Saratoga, except two companies under the command of Major Graham, which I have detained in town; the second, at the German Flats, except one company

materials. A very great majority of the people of this country are good Whigs, and very determined to maintain their independence; and being so, how they came into their present state of thralldom is beside my present purpose to inquire. Like good physicians, the Congress will consider that the inordinacy of the symptoms must be subdued, before application can with safety be made to the cause."

"I clearly see in this state of things, that, wanting a rudder in the storm, the good ship must inevitably be cast away. Congress alone can furnish the preventive. The temper of the people here, and a thousand other considerations, point to the remedy. Let General Washington be immediately sent to Virginia with two or three thousand good troops. Let Congress, as the head of the Federal Union in this crisis, direct that, until the Legislature can convene and a Governor be appointed, the General be possessed of dictatorial powers, and that it be strongly recommended to the Assembly, when convened, to continue those powers for six, eight, or ten months, as the case may be. And the General may be desired instantly, on his arrival in Virginia, to summon the members of both Houses to meet where he shall appoint, to organize and resettle their Government. You may be assured, Sir, that if this is quickly done, and arms and ammunition forwarded, the enemy's possessions in the South will be very few, and the prospects they may propose to themselves from a truce, thus rendered abortive."

at Schoharie, whose place I have supplied by a company of levies. Hazen's regiment I have ordered to Caghnawaga, about twenty-five miles above Schenectady, on the Mohawk River, leaving one company at Schenectady, for the purpose of forwarding stores up the river. Colonel Willett, with such of the levies as are not otherwise disposed of, will be stationed at the Rapid and Fort Plane, about half way between Caghnawaga and the German Flats. I flatter myself this disposition will meet your Excellency's approbation, especially when you consider the very extensive line of communication which is to be supported, and the very many avenues through which we are exposed to attacks from the enemy in small parties.

From a variety of accounts, received through different channels, I am informed the enemy's force at Crown Point is near two thousand, though I cannot persuade myself that they are near so strong. A party of our Indians, I hear, have returned, and brought in two prisoners, who have not yet arrived in town, by whom I may possibly obtain some intelligence which may be depended on, and which, when received, shall be transmitted to head-quarters. From the complexion of Hazen's regiment, and their disposition to mutiny, I could have wished they had not been sent up. They have been necessarily detained a few days in this city; and the numerous disaffected tribes, which swarm here, have so far inflamed their minds that they are already become almost ungovernable. They have declared they will not march without money. Two of the principals, who had been confined, were forcibly released by their fellows last night, and the most disorderly conduct ensued. We have, however, apprehended them this morning, and a Court-Martial is now sitting to determine their fate.

With respect to provisions, I hope we shall be able to procure the necessary supplies of flour, but beef we are entirely destitute of. I have directed Mr. Gamble to proceed to the eastward, and forward on, without loss of time, such quantities as he may be able to procure, either from Mr. Phelps, or Springfield, or both, agreeably to your Excellency's instruction. I have been so particularly attentive to the issues of provisions in this quarter, that shortly after my arrival here I ordered no returns to be answered unless countersigned by me, which I find has been productive of the best consequences. I could wish some direct line of conduct was pointed out, specifying who are the proper objects of public bounty, and who not; for, though the wives and children of the soldiers, as well as the Canada refugees, swell the provision returns to a very considerable amount, yet when we consider that the former cannot receive the reward either of their own or their husbands' labor, and the sacrifice which many of the latter have made by their voluntary exile, it appears an act of cruelty to deny them a scanty pittance.

For the protection of the surviving part of this devoted State, I could wish the troops now here could be permitted to remain until absolute and immediate necessity calls for their services with the army. Their stations are compact, and in seven days of favorable weather they could be landed at West Point. There are now in the ground the most promising crops, and the face of the country affords a most flattering prospect. Prudence and policy, as well as dear-bought experience, evidently dictate the necessity of endeavouring to preserve it. I must here beg leave to plead your Excellency's promise, and request that, when offensive operations commence

against the enemy, I may not be forgotten among those who are ambitious of devoting themselves and their services to the good of their country. I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect, &c.,

JAMES CLINTON.

P. S. *June 18th.* This day Hazen's regiment marched in good order for their station. The prisoners alluded to have arrived, the examination of whom I have the honor to inclose.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Philadelphia, 15 June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I have been honored with your very kind and obliging letter of the 4th instant, and should sooner have replied, but I am kept here in a kind of suspense by the very slow manner of proceeding in the Assembly of this State. I am Financier elect, but that is all; for had I taken the oath and my commission, my seat in the Assembly must have been vacated. And I think it of the utmost consequence to preserve my right of appearing there, until the tender and penal laws are totally repealed; for I consider those laws as destructive of all credit, even amongst private people in dealings with one another. But to the public officers, after the experience we have had, it is evident that the existence of such laws much longer, must totally preclude them from every possibility of credit; and in our circumstances the war cannot be carried on without it. I have al-

ready made such an impression on this subject, that I feel pretty sure those laws will be repealed in this State within these few days; and I expect the other Legislatures will readily follow the example.

I am also pressing our Assembly to levy effective taxes in hard money. There are stronger objections made to this than the other measure, and they are more pertinaciously insisted on. But still they will, either wholly or partially, come into this also; and if once the ice is broken, they will see such advantages flowing from these foundations, as will readily induce them to follow up the plans that evidently prove, in the operation, how beneficial they are to the country.

Insuperable obstacles have hitherto prevented me from bending my course towards your camp, and it seems yet uncertain when it may be in my power; for although I stipulated with Congress that they should not rest any part of the present campaign on me, yet they cannot refrain, and already much of my time and attention is engaged in that way. Not having taken any commission, prevents me from calling on the several departments for such returns as I should choose to have with me when I wait on your Excellency; for my objects are to reduce our public expenditures as nearly as possible to what they ought to be, and to obtain revenues in our own country, to meet those expenses as nearly as can be; and then to show foreign nations, engaged in the war, that we must look to them for the balance. And I am very confident, when they shall see exertions on one hand, and economy on the other, they will be willing to assist us all they consistently can. The promise you so cheerfully make, of granting all the support in your power, increases my own confidence, and I will, before long, engage in the duties

of my department, with all the energy I am master of; that is, provided these tender and penal laws are done away. I have the pleasure to hear, that Mr Lowry has sent one thousand barrels of flour to camp. From General Schuyler, I have not yet heard. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most devoted, humble servant,
ROBERT MORRIS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Camp, Bush River, 22 June, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letters of the 19th and 21st of April, I have had the honor to receive. Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to have it in my power to oblige Major Macpherson, especially as it will afford me an opportunity of obliging your Excellency at the same time.

Inclosed is a copy of my last letter to Congress. Copies of my former letters I desired the President of Congress to forward to you, which I hope you have received. We are anxiously waiting the arrival of the second division of the French fleet. Virginia affords the most inviting object, Lord Cornwallis's army, and the garrison and shipping at Portsmouth. The whole may be taken in three weeks, or less; while New York and Charleston will produce a long, tedious, and uncertain siege. I hope the Marquis will be successful in Virginia. What I mean by success is, to avoid a capital misfortune. Your Excellency will see, by my letters to Congress, I have left the command of all the force coming southward with the Marquis. My fears are principally from the ene-

my's superior cavalry. To the northward, cavalry is nothing, from the numerous fences; but to the southward a disorder, by a superior cavalry, may be improved into a defeat, and a defeat into a rout. Virginia and North Carolina could not be brought to consider the cavalry of such great importance as they are to the security of an army and the safety of a country.

Before this, I hope the New England States have filled up their regiments. Nothing but drafting can lay a permanent foundation for the liberties of America; and with it we have little to fear, even from a failure of our finance. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Mattaponi River, 24 June, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

This letter will be handed by Colonel Morris, who waits upon your Excellency with General Greene's sentiments upon the different ways to improve Count de Grasse's assistance. I have been desired to add my own; but the last letter I had the honor to write has anticipated the information which General Greene wanted me to give.

The light infantry are eight hundred and fifty; the Pennsylvanians, about six hundred; Virginia exchanged soldiers and new levies, four hundred; the Marylanders will be six hundred. We have one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a chance to obtain sixty more. Had we accoutrements, we could have two hundred more, whom Colonel White has in readiness,

with two hundred excellent horses, sixty of which I hope to equip by dismounting volunteers. As to militia, we may, in a few days, have three thousand. A demand from you upon the State of Maryland will procure one thousand well-armed militia. The conduct of some people in that State, appears to me very injurious to public interests. The new levies have been every day delayed, every petty pretence employed to prevent their joining either General Greene or this army. The danger of Baltimore, upon which I was not very hasty to quiet them, brought on a confession that the men were ready. I then demanded them, in most urgent terms. At last, I sent George there, who wrote me that they make a beautiful battalion. But he could not obtain more than a promise to send them in three or four days.

Portsmouth is evacuated with some precipitation. I wait for a more particular account before I write officially. Yesterday, M. de Camus, a French officer of the navy, reconnoitred the shipping in York River. There are sixty sail,—ten of which, armed vessels; the largest, a fifty-gun ship; their situation very much exposed. The enemy are not yet fortifying at York. What is doing at Gloucester is rather upon a contracted scale. They do not appear very much alarmed. Colonel Dundas was heard to say that an English and a French fleet had sailed at the same time. The intelligence concerning Count de Grasse has been kept a profound secret.

My coming into this country has attracted this side a large portion of the enemy's force. In the meanwhile General Wayne was filing off towards Westover, and the remainder of the army to Ruffin's Ferry. Should the enemy move southerly, we shall be at Westover before Wayne has done crossing, as the

cavalry will be hurried. The moment Count de Grasse arrives, I will collect our force about Good's Bridge, and wait for intelligence from him.

Colonel Gimat, and the French officers I have mentioned, are gone to Portsmouth, under pretence to see the fortifications which I have ordered to be levelled, and will proceed to Cape Henry, in order to deliver my despatches to the French Commanders, and give them every information in their power. Heavy artillery, and every thing relative to a siege, from the cannon to the tool, are not to be found this side of Philadelphia. Clothing, and particularly shoes, arms, dragoons' and horse equipments, ammunition, are articles which your Excellency will be obliged to send from the northward. I may add, medicines and hospital stores. Could Lauzun's legion be forwarded with despatch, they will be extremely useful; they might come with you, and would, in the mean time, serve to the safety of your journey.

As to provisions, my dear General, want of system will render our subsistence difficult, unless intelligent Commissaries are immediately sent on. If you intend, as I hope, to come yourself, you might send on the heads of departments. An early application upon the State of Maryland may be productive of great good. My expectations have not, as yet, been communicated to any General Officer, not even to the Executive. I wish to write a private letter to the Governor. Count de Grasse will arrive before long. In case important operations are carried on in Virginia, which, I think, cannot fail to succeed, Mr. Morris ought to send some hard money. From the moment I took the command of this army, there has not been a farthing sent from the Treasury; and this State money is good for nothing.

Lord Cornwallis's force at Richmond was four thousand. There were then, at least, one thousand in Portsmouth. Some have been killed, and some are sick. But, if you add sailors, he will have much upwards of five thousand men, at the least. With the highest regard and affection, I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM COLONEL COBB.*

Newton, 30 June, 1781.

SIR,

I was at Count Rochambeau's this evening, when I received your Excellency's despatches. General Chastellux was immediately sent for, and the heads of departments consulted on the new-intended route of the army. The Count inquired whether your Excellency was acquainted with the removal of the Yagers, and some other troops, from Long Island to New York. I assured him your Excellency was perfectly acquainted with it, and all the other movements of the enemy at New York; and that your Excellency would never undertake a matter of this kind, but upon certain intelligence and the surest grounds of success.

The Count was perfectly satisfied with the plan proposed, and assured me that duty, as well as inclination, prompted him to comply with your Excellency's wishes. Orders are accordingly given for the march of the first brigade in the morning; and the

* Appointed an Aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief on the 15th of June.

Duke's legion, which is now at New Stratford, will undoubtedly march at the same time. It will be at the place of destination by the time proposed, twelve o'clock. The rest of the army will follow when the other division arrives, which comes up to-morrow. The Count, in his letter, wishes an answer from your Excellency by to-morrow night. It would be more agreeable if it comes sooner.* I am, &c.,

DAVID COBB.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

Peekskill, 2 July, 1781.

SIR,

I came to this place to-day, to take your Excellency's ultimate directions when the park should join the army, and to take any other orders your Excellency should please to give me; but I was disappointed by the army and your Excellency having moved. I presume the laboratory preparations will be in such forwardness by Sunday next, that we might then move without retarding any thing material. The artificers must remain longer.

If your Excellency should think fit to alter the time of the arrival of the stores from Philadelphia, I pray you to write to the Board of War on the subject. If your Excellency should be engaged in any operations, which you intend to lead to immediate action, I hope I may with confidence expect your summons, even previous to the time mentioned above. I beg the favor of a speedy answer; and am

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

HENRY KNOX.

* Count Rochambeau was at this time on his march from Newport through Connecticut, to form a junction with General Washington near the Hudson. Washington's Writings, Vol. VIII. pp. 81 - 98.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

Chickahominy Church, 8 miles from Jamestown,
8 July, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

After a variety of marches and countermarches, frequently offering battle to Lord Cornwallis upon military terms, the Marquis de Lafayette received intelligence on the 5th that the enemy had marched from Williamsburg for Jamestown, and were preparing to throw their baggage and troops over that river. This induced the General to make a forward move to this place with the Continental troops, including Major Macpherson's little legion, together with a few volunteer dragoons under Colonel Mercer and Captain Hill, the vicinity of which to the enemy was such as to put it into his power to strike them, should the passage of the James be their object.

On the morning of the 6th several corroborating advices arrived, removing every doubt upon that head, with the addition that nothing but a forced march, with the lightest and most advanced part of the troops, could arrive in time to affect their rear. This induced the Marquis to order the advanced guard, Major Macpherson's, Colonel Mercer's, and Captain Hill's corps, one hundred and fifty riflemen, with Colonel Stewart's detachment of Pennsylvanians, amounting in the whole to about five hundred men, artillery and dragoons included, to make a forward move under my conduct, and endeavour to come up with the enemy.

Upon our arrival at the Green Spring Farm, a variety of contradictory intelligence rendered it prudent to reconnoitre them with a military eye. Their vast superiority in horse also made it expedient to advance the whole of our little corps to drive in their

guards, and keep their horse in check. About this period the Marquis arrived in person, and adopted the manœuvre, which being effected, it was soon discovered that a very considerable part of their army yet remained on this side of the river, which induced the General to send for the remainder of the Continentals, distant about six miles. At two o'clock, P. M., a large smoke was raised by the enemy, probably as a signal to their parties to return to camp, and for all such as had crossed the river to repass it.

At three o'clock the riflemen, supported by a few regulars, began and kept up a galling fire upon the enemy, which continued until five in the evening, when the British began to move forward in five columns. The Marquis, anxious to view them near, had proceeded rather far upon their left. It was therefore thought proper to order Major Galvan, at the head of the advanced guard, to meet and attack their front; who, after a spirited though unequal contest, retired upon our left. A detachment of the light infantry, under Major Willis, having that moment arrived, also commenced a severe fire upon the enemy's left, but were obliged to fall back; which the enemy taking advantage of, began to turn our flanks, a manœuvre by which, had they persevered, they must inevitably have penetrated between this corps and the other part of the army. But being joined at this crisis by Lieutenant-Colonel Harmer and Major Edwards, with two detachments from the second and third battalions of Pennsylvanians, under Colonel Hampton, it was determined, among a choice of difficulties, to advance and charge them. This was done with such vivacity as to produce the desired effect; that is, checking them in their advance, and diverting them from their first manœuvre.

But, being enveloped by numbers, many brave and worthy officers and soldiers killed or wounded, we found it expedient to fall back half a mile to Green Spring Farm. Two of our field-pieces, which were necessarily introduced to keep up the idea of our being in force, were served with equal spirit and effect, until disabled by having Captain Crosby, with many matrosses, dangerously wounded, and all the horses killed. They at last fell into their hands. The wagons and ammunition were carried off safe. The enemy, sore from the contest, and finding us supported at that place by the remainder of the light infantry, were content with barely keeping the field, although opposed but by a handful of men compared with their numbers; and who, from the nature of the ground, were obliged to act in a detached manner, except that part of the Pennsylvania line which had time to arrive, and then not more than five hundred men, with a few dragoons under Major Macpherson.

From the mutual emulation in the officers and men of each corps, I am confident that, had the army been in force, victory would have inclined to our arms. However, every circumstance considered, our small reconnoitring party of horse and foot, who had the hardiness to engage Lord Cornwallis at the head of his whole army, with the advantage of so numerous a cavalry, on their own ground, and in their own camp, is more to be envied than pitied; as it not only disconcerted the British General, and effectually amused him from his premeditated manœuvre, but precipitated his retreat to James Island the same night, to avoid a general action in the morning, which the pointed attack he experienced in the evening might be the sanguinary prelude to.

Our Field-Officers were generally dismounted by having their horses either killed or wounded under them. Colonel Cheeves, and other young Virginian gentlemen of his corps, were not more fortunate. I will not condole with the Marquis for the loss of two of his, as he was frequently requested to keep at a greater distance. His native bravery rendered him deaf to the admonition. I cannot attempt to discriminate between any corps of officers or men so equally deserving; but beg leave to observe, that if they possess a fault, it is an excess of bravery, a crime the least to be reprehended in a soldier.

As the Marquis de Lafayette will furnish your Excellency with a general return of the killed and wounded, I shall only mention that the enemy, from every account and circumstance, have sustained a loss of near three hundred men in killed and wounded, among whom are many officers.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

P. S. Colonel Stewart requests his best compliments to your Excellency. His small detachment suffered most, from their local situation.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, 9 July, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I am honored with your Excellency's letter of 25th June last, with a copy of one addressed to you from General Parsons, inclosed. Your feelings of distress excite a sympathy in my breast, and a readiness to do all in my power to remove the occasion. That the

Committee from the Connecticut line of the army did not accomplish a full settlement, was to me a matter of sorrow, and fear for its consequences. The veteran troops who faithfully served, and bravely endured so many distresses in defence of their own and their country's righteous cause, in the unhappy contest with the British King and Ministry, and continue therein to the end, will be rewarded, acknowledged, and remembered with love and gratitude by this and future generations. Surely, none will forsake it, or cause disturbances at this time, when in a near view of a happy issue. Those who do, will meet with reproach and regret.

The country, universally, have had many, very many embarrassments and great difficulties to encounter and struggle through; enemies secret as well as open; no permanent army raised; soldiers to be hired into the service for short periods, at extravagantly high prices; no magazines of provisions; an army to be fed from hand to mouth; finances deranged; public credit abused and ruined; a rapid depreciation of the currency; the army not paid or clothed; the force and pernicious policy of a cruel and inveterate enemy to be met and avoided; heavy taxes; unreasonable jealousies; with a train of other grievances more easily conceived than expressed. Suffer me to mention one more, by way of inquiry;—whether it is not grievous to hear our officers say, “that they have no justice to hope for from the State, unless their accounts are closed, and their wages and subsistence secured, before the period arrives in which they have no further occasion for the services of the army.”

I do sincerely wish for that period, and will then, and ever, exert myself to obtain justice for the officers and soldiers of our line, as freely as I have

done so to bring the war to a happy close. A full settlement was agreed on for the pay and wages of our line. The subsistence of the officers is the only matter unsettled. It was proposed to give them eightpence half-penny per ration, not from the first of April last, as mentioned in the letter, but from the first of April, 1780; the residue to lie open for the determination of Congress.

The Legislature of this State is not sitting. To call it to meet at this season, when every other business, public and domestic, calls for the attention of the members, will cause discontent and uneasiness. You may depend on my giving the subject as early a consideration as may be found convenient, and consistent with other circumstances. A sum of money for our line of the army, as much as can be collected, shall be forwarded soon. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of great regard and consideration, &c.,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 10 July, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

My health is so much impaired, by long confinement and application, as compels me to retire from Congress. I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, they have elected his Excellency Thomas McKean, to be their President. It also gives me much satisfaction, on retiring, to see our public affairs, in many respects, wear a more promising aspect than heretofore. The enemy, at present, in every part of the United States, seem to be reduced to a situation merely on the defensive; and, should the States

improve the opportunity with proper and vigorous exertions, we have reason to hope, from the smiles of Providence, yet more favorable events.

The distresses we have suffered from the deranged state of our finances begin to be relieved; and the arrangements taken by the appointment of a Superintendent of Finance, and the measures he is adopting, give me great encouragement on that most important subject. I am now to take leave of your Excellency, with respect to my official correspondence. But be assured, Sir, my warmest wishes still continue to attend you, that your military operations may be prospered and crowned with the most desirable event, a speedy and honorable peace, and that you may experience many days of tranquillity in the enjoyment of the happy fruits of your important and arduous services in the cause of your country.

Whatever my future situation in life may be, I shall always love my country. In her happiness and prosperity will consist my own, personally. Should my state of health permit me the pleasure of waiting upon your Excellency (which a few days' journey will determine), I shall certainly improve the opportunity on my return to Connecticut. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your most humble servant,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STARK.

Derryfield, 15 July, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, which was delivered a few days

ago. I shall set out for Saratoga the beginning of next week, and on my passage shall hold a treaty with the Green Mountain Boys. But not having seen, or been acquainted with those turbulent sons of freedom, for several years, I am at a loss to determine my reception; but hope it will be such as shall tend to the general good. I shall endeavour to give you a more particular account on my arrival at Saratoga.

My health is not fully restored, but perhaps competent to my new command. That the operations of the campaign may be such as shall render the American arms glorious in the eyes of the world, and the conclusion produce a peace, honorable and lasting, is the ardent desire of, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN STARK.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, on the High Hills of Santee,
17 July, 1781.

Sir,

Since I wrote your Excellency at Little River, near Ninety Six, I have been favored with your despatch of June the 1st. It affords me great pleasure to hear that an attack is meditating against New York. This measure no doubt will create a powerful diversion in favor of this country; and I wish most ardently that the Northern States may enable you to complete its reduction. But I confess this is so important an object, that I can hardly flatter myself with so fortunate an event.

The copy of my former letters to Congress will inform your Excellency of the measures I took for the defence of Virginia; and inclosed is a copy of my

letter to Congress, giving an account of our movements in this quarter, since we raised the siege of Ninety Six. I hope the steps I took both with respect to Virginia and here, will meet your approbation. The Marquis has conducted the operations in Virginia, as far as I can learn, with great good conduct, and I hope Congress will give him a testimony of their good opinion of it. When I found Virginia was going to be attacked in so formidable a manner, I halted all the troops coming to the southward, and determined to struggle with the little force I had in the best manner I could, until I could learn better the enemy's intentions in that quarter. I thought, upon the whole, it was much better to keep up the war here, than to give up three States in an attempt to afford Virginia such an ineffectual reënforcement, as I could have carried to her aid, which must have been greatly reduced by a march of at least four hundred miles. Besides, if I had left this country, the enemy would have been able to detach to Virginia a far greater force than I could have carried there; and the efforts of the militia in this quarter, for want of countenance, would have totally ceased. All these considerations determined me in the line of conduct I pursued; and I hope time will show the measure to be warranted from every principle of good policy.

The late European intelligence, I am apprehensive, will determine the enemy upon a new plan of conducting the war. For, instead of attempting to overrun the whole country, I expect they will make an effort to complete the reduction of two States, and secure the possession of New York. Intelligence, therefore, from the northward will be important. Should your Excellency get any information by which

their intentions may be explained, I beg you will forward it with all possible despatch. I am with great respect and regard,

Your Excellency's obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, 17 July, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last to your Excellency, I have received a letter from General Parsons, dated the 10th instant, filled with severe remarks and reflections on our Legislature. A copy thereof, with my answer, is inclosed.

I wish to do the things that make for peace with both officers and men of the Connecticut line of the army, consisting of our own people, raised for defending and securing the rights and liberties of the whole, embarked in the same common cause, and to return to citizens again when the contest with the British King and Ministry is ended; to prevent, if possible, discord and division, so very dangerous in our situation, and hazardous to our present operations. Surely the officers do not desire to inflame the soldiery with apprehensions that the Assembly deny them that justice which was done them the last year, with which they were satisfied, when the Committee from the line know the whole accounts of pay and wages were gone through, and ready to be closed on the same principles, and that nothing remained in question but only the detained rations of the officers. This was not agitated, till it became time for the Committee to return to their duty; when there was

scarcely time for the members of so numerous a body to deliberate on the subject. Eightpence half-penny per ration was offered from the 1st of April, 1780. Many were of opinion, that by the time of payment, that rate would be more than sufficient for the same. Others proposed to secure a specific payment. As to what was due before that 1st of April, 1780, it naturally lay open for the direction of the Honorable Congress.

In the midst of these deliberations, the Committee left us unexpectedly. I observed no design to deny justice to the officers; to the soldiery there could be none. The accounts were fully agreed, prepared, and ready to be closed. I choose to forbear any recrimination. Yet suffer me to inquire, why the Committee from the line did not bring on the settlement for detained rations earlier. They knew it must require time of deliberation, when they well knew the principles for settlement of pay and wages were agreed on the last year. Do they mean to press for more than justice, from the necessity of their present services, and the fears of fatal consequences if denied? The whole line know and ought to consider their pay and wages are secured in full value, while the depreciation operates as a heavy tax upon the rest of the people. The officers may likewise consider, that their pay was raised by Congress, fifty per cent. above what the State agreed with them for. The maxim adopted by the enemy is that old one of *divide et impera*. Shall we suffer avarice to divide and ruin us and our cause, and give them opportunity to exult and triumph over us?

Providence hath and doth smile propitiously upon us, and calls aloud for union, vigorous exertions, patience, and perseverance, and to endure hardship as

good soldiers, that the end may be peace. Justice and peace ride together in the same chariot. It will be my constant endeavour, that peace may be obtained on just and honorable terms, and that justice be done to them who jeopard their lives in the high places of the field, in defence of, and to secure the blessings of freedom for ourselves and posterity.

I wrote yesterday to the Treasurer, to inform me this week, what sum of hard money is and can be immediately collected for the army, which shall be sent forward without delay. The measures directed, and orders given for raising and marching our troops to the army, are now diligently carrying into execution. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Camp, 19 July, 1781.

SIR,

General Knox has called on me to-day, respecting a provision of horses for the light artillery. I have authorized Colonel Hughes to purchase one hundred *for that service only*, and promised payment by the 1st of November. He writes me, encouragingly, that many may be so procured. The essential service to which they are to be applied will, I trust, facilitate a grant of money to enable me to fulfil my promise, which no ordinary calls would have induced me to hazard.

I have heard nothing of the horses expected from Pennsylvania since Colonel Mills wrote me, on the

29th ultimo, that, "on that and the following days, he should send money to all the counties where any horses remained, to enable the drivers to defray their expenses to the army." I desired they might be shod before they left the State. This may have retarded their progress a few days. I think they cannot now be far off. I expect they amount to a hundred; but the numbers given me on paper have so often deceived me, I will not undertake to say how many will arrive. General Knox demands one hundred for the light artillery, which he is impatient to bring into the field. There is no practicable way of procuring them with despatch, but by an impress. In this part of New York there are few or no horses worth impressing. The other parts of this State have been harassed by impresses during the whole winter. Jersey has suffered in this way very little, nor am I informed of its having made any material effort, either in furnishing supplies or services, since the last campaign. If one hundred horses were impressed there on this occasion, they might probably be relieved by those from Pennsylvania and Colonel Hughes's purchases, in the course of a fortnight or three weeks.

As the enemy's shipping have gone down the river, I request your Excellency's determination whether a ferry-boat or two, capable of carrying horses, and some of Major Darby's bateaux, should not be brought down to Dobbs's Ferry; whether, if the Jersey troops continue on the other side, the transportation of stores from Trenton and Morristown may not be turned thither; and whether the route of the expresses from Philadelphia may not be shortened in the same way.

I beg leave to add, on the subject of an impress of horses, that, if your Excellency should judge it

expedient to adopt the measure, Lieutenant-Colonel Dearborn will cross the river, consult Colonel Dayton, and fix on the proper persons to make the impress, aided by small detachments from the Jersey line. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Malvan Hill, 20 July, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

This letter is not by any means directed to the Commander-in-chief, but to my most intimate and long-cherished friend. I will lay before you my circumstances and my wishes. Certain I am you will do whatever you can for me, that is consistent with your public duty.

When I went to the southward, you know I had some private objections. But I became sensible of the necessity there was for the detachment to go, and I knew that, had I returned, there was nobody that could lead them on against their inclinations. My entering this State was happily marked by a service to the capital. Virginia became the grand object of the enemy, as it was the point to which the Ministry tended. I had the honor to command an army, and oppose Lord Cornwallis. When incomparably inferior to him, fortune was pleased to preserve us; when equal in numbers, though not in kind of troops, we have also been pretty lucky. Cornwallis had the disgrace of a retreat, and this State being recovered, Government is properly reëstablished. The

enemy are under the protection of their works at Portsmouth.

It appears an embarkation is taking place, probably destined to New York. The war in this State would then become a plundering one, and great manœuvres be out of the question. A prudent officer would do our business here, and the Baron is so to the utmost. Would it be possible, my dear General, that in case a part of the British troops go to New York, I may be allowed to join the combined armies? I know the command of a separate army ought not to be quitted. But, besides the services I may render in the co-operation, some arrangements, which I leave to your goodness for me to think of, may put me in a very brilliant station.

M. de Choisy, I am told, is very unhappy to be left behind. Perhaps these French troops will be replaced by militia, which requires a general officer; perhaps a corps of observation in the Jerseys will be given to another. The militia requires a Major-General, as it will be very numerous. Does not General St. Clair take command of the Pennsylvania line, and will not this line be forwarded to the southward, rather than the New England light infantry? So that, my dear General, I hope something may be found for me in the Continental part of the army; the more so, as it seems it will form one of the divisions of the combined army under your command.

I have calculated that nothing very material would happen before September. By that time your forces will be collected, clothed, and arranged; a succour from the West Indies may arrive; you will then decide if the upper part of the Island, Long Island, Staten Island, or New York Island, is to be in our possession. This letter goes to-day by a faithful ser-

vant. It will arrive on the 29th at camp. Your answer might be with me so that I may leave on the 10th, and arrive at head-quarters about the 20th. This matter I have not mentioned to any body, and wish it may rest between you and me. Lord Cornwallis is every day inquiring about my going to the Grand Army, which he says must be soon the case. This induces me to think they believe you are in earnest in your preparations.

The command of this army has been a great matter for me. You may end this campaign of mine in the most brilliant manner, by the command I may, with some arrangements, get in the combined army. The services I may render, with respect to the co-operation, may be a very good reason, and my coming unexpectedly, unless I have many senior officers in the way, may entitle me to a great command. Should not a great part of the operating army in this quarter go to New York, I would not trouble you with my wishes to return to head-quarters. But do not, I pray, believe I have the least notion of calculating upon commands, though in my personal circumstances they become peculiarly important to me. If I may be of the least use to you, it will make me happy to serve as a volunteer Aid-de-camp to you.

Since writing the inclosed, my dear General, an officer of Tarleton's legion, who has been taken, was brought to my quarters. He had much conversation with my Aids-de-camp, and being an unguarded young man, spoke very freely. He says Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Tarleton are certainly going to New York. He adds, the light infantry, and a regiment of horse, do certainly embark for the same place. Preference is given to such troops as were the most

fatigued in their manœuvres through Virginia. He thinks the guards are to remain here; does not know the disposition of any other troops. I thought this was worth mentioning to you. Would to God this embarkation could be intercepted!*

I have this day seen the order of battle.† It appears to me General St. Clair is not comprehended in it. The Jersey troops, not being there, are, I presume, destined to a diversion with the New Jersey militia. New England, or the whole body of the militia, will perhaps furnish some general employment, so that I hope I may be put in, at all events. I should be with you, and of course should be very happy.

Should the enemy remain quiet in this State, the Baron might do very well. But if the siege of New York does not succeed, and there is no place, I imagine you will march here in force. Adieu, my dear General. You will not forget this letter is entirely private, and by no means directed to the Commander-in-chief. With every sentiment of respect, and the most tender affection, I have the honor to be, my dear General, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. In case there is no appearance of a move of the enemy, and no propriety in our going toward Portsmouth, I intend reconnoitring the grounds about Fredericksburg, where, if I am made certain nothing will happen in my absence, I may meet your letter.

* As no such movements in Cornwallis's army took place, it is probable that this officer of Tarleton's legion was a willing prisoner, and a spy in disguise.

† The order of battle for the army under General Washington's command.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Malvan Hill, 30 July, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your letter of the 13th is just come to hand. The moment a perfect intelligence can be got, Major Macpherson will be despatched. But some expressions in your last favor will, if possible, augment my vigilance in keeping you well apprised of the enemy's movements.

There are, in Hampton Road, thirty transport ships full of troops, most of them red-coats; there are eight or ten brigs, which have cavalry on board. They had excellent winds, and yet they are not gone. Some say they have received advices from New York in a row-boat. The escort, as I mentioned before, is the *Charon*, and several frigates; the last account says, seven. The light infantry, Queen's rangers, and two British regiments, are, I think, on board. Two German regiments are, it seems, destined to the same service. I cannot be positive, and do not even think Lord Cornwallis has been fully determined. I have got in Portsmouth many people that watch his motions. But none has been able to slip out. His Lordship went to Old Point Comfort, had a survey taken of the properest place to build a fort, had the soundings examined, and returned to Portsmouth with General Leslie.

This State is so difficult to be defended, that one false step involves the one that does not command the water, in a series of inconveniences. His Lordship has taken pilots for the Bay and for Portsmouth. This, I suppose, is a feint. But a march south of James River, throws me out of supporting distance for any thing that is north of it; a march to the

north gives the enemy command of every thing south of the river.

Two battalions of light infantry and the militia are at this place, the healthiest and best-watered spot in the State. General Wayne is at Good's Bridge, on the Appomattox, with the Pennsylvanians and Virginia Continentals, and looks toward Roanoke or Portsmouth. Muhlenberg, with a battalion of light infantry, some riflemen, and the horse, has an intermediary position between me and Suffolk, in the neighbourhood of which moves a party of militia under Colonel Parker. General Weedon is in person at Fredericksburg, and, the moment a fleet appears, will call out the militia. Gregory is on the other side of the Dismal Swamp. I cannot hear from him, but sent him orders by a safe hand to call out the militia, mount some cannon on the passes, and take out of the way every boat which might serve the enemy to go to North Carolina. You know, my dear General, that, with a very trifling transportation, they may go by water from Portsmouth to Wilmington. The only way to shut up that passage is to have an army before Portsmouth, and posted at the head of these rivers; a movement, which, unless I was certain of a naval superiority, might prove ruinous. But, should a fleet come into Hampton Road, and should I get some days' notice, our situation would be very agreeable.

I am endeavouring to get a cavalry, and it is not without trouble. Transportation is a great objection to the formation of magazines. A naval superiority would also level that difficulty. It appears a pretty large body of troops have been sent to Kemp's Landing; some cannon removed from Portsmouth; but nothing that can make his Lordship's intentions perfectly

understood. Any certainty of a naval superiority, I would wish to know instantly, as then I will give his Lordship every opportunity to go up the rivers. There is a chain of expresses; but I shall see that it is more properly conducted. With the highest esteem and most tender affection, my dear General,

Yours,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, on the Pamunky, 6 August, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The embarkation, which I thought and do still think to have been destined to New York, was reported to have sailed up the Bay, and to be bound to Baltimore, in consequence of which, I wrote to your Excellency, and, as I had not indulged myself too near Portsmouth, I was able to cut across towards Fredericksburg. But, instead of continuing his voyage up the Bay, my Lord entered York River, and landed at York and Gloucester. To the former vessels were added a number of flat-bottomed boats. Our movements have not been precipitate. We were in time to take our course down Pamunky River, and will move to some position where the several parts of the army will unite.

I have some militia in Gloucester county, and some in York. We shall act agreeably to circumstances, but avoid drawing ourselves into a false movement, which, for want of cavalry and command of the rivers, would give the enemy the advantage of us. His Lordship plays so well, that no blunder can be hoped from him to recover a bad step of ours. The troops in York and Gloucester are,—two battalions of light

infantry; two large Anspach regiments, the eightieth and seventy-sixth, which are said to be the two largest ones in the British army; the forty-third, the Queen's rangers, and some horse. Lord Cornwallis himself commands. General O'Hara is in Portsmouth with the remainder of the troops. Leslie is, it is said, gone in a frigate to Charleston. You must not wonder, my dear General, that there has been a fluctuation in my intelligence. I am positive the British counsels have also been fluctuating. I am so earnest in my opinion, that I should not be surprised if the light infantry and Anspachers were detached to New York.

York is surrounded by the river and a morass. The entrance is but narrow. There is, however, a commanding hill (at least I am so informed), which, if occupied by them, would much extend their works. Gloucester is a neck of land projected into the river, and opposite to York. Their vessels, the biggest of which is a forty-four, are between the two towns. Should a fleet come in at this moment, our affairs would take a very happy turn.

General Gregory and Colonel Parker have been directed to collect forces, and press near Portsmouth. I have written to North Carolina to be guarded against any movement by land. I have written to Maryland for their new levies; and, as agreeably to your intentions, his Lordship's remaining in the State keeps me with this army, I am still more anxious, if possible, to receive the private communications that have been announced. Had not your attention been turned to New York, something, with a fleet, might be done in this quarter. But I see New York is the object, and consequently I attend to your instructions by Captain Olney. It is the more import-

ant for me to know what Lord Cornwallis ought to do for fulfilling your Excellency's wishes, as we might try to influence his Lordship's manœuvres, and endeavour to determine them towards a wrong point.

Vessels are gone back to Portsmouth, it is thought, to fetch troops and cannon. Perhaps his Lordship does not choose to keep two distant posts.

I beg, my dear General, you will forgive the more than usual scribbling of this hasty letter; and have the honor to be, with a respect equal to my affection, my dear General,

Your obedient servant and friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, High Hills of Santee,
6 August, 1781.

SIR,

Governor Rutledge arrived in camp a few days since, and informed me that a French fleet of twenty sail of the line, besides frigates, were to be on the coast by the 25th of this month, to coöperate with the American army for dispossessing the enemy of the several posts they hold in the United States; and that there are to come with the fleet from five to ten thousand troops, to facilitate operations. So great a naval and land force, aided by our own exertions, cannot fail, if properly directed, of totally ruining the enemy in this country. As late and full information will be necessary to enable your Excellency to judge what objects to give the preference to, as well as what force may be necessary for each, I have taken the earliest opportunity to communicate

the fullest intelligence I possess from this quarter. And, as you may wish to make more inquiries, I have sent the despatches by one of my Aids, Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, that you may not only be satisfied in all matters respecting our situation, but that you may have a better opportunity of conveying such instructions in return as may be unsafe to write.

Major Burnett, one of my Aids, who is much indisposed, set out from this camp eight or ten days since for the northward. By him I wrote fully our situation, and I desired him to give your Excellency such information as I had omitted to mention in my letter. But, as this is a new matter, I thought it most advisable to send Colonel Morris, notwithstanding. I have received no letters from the Marquis for near a month, and none from your Excellency since the 1st of June, in which you informed me of the preparations making for an attempt upon New York. By this time I suppose the operations are in great forwardness; and, if the force from the islands arrive agreeably to the Ministers' expectations, the reduction of the place must be speedy and certain. New York, as a place of arms, and from the importance of its situation to harass and distress our people, may be considered as the greatest object on the Continent; and, in my opinion, every effort should be made for its reduction in preference to all others. If that place was reduced, and the enemy could not repossess it, I think it would lay the foundation for their evacuating all the possessions in the United States south of it. There would be no harbour for their shipping, except in Virginia, and no convenient place there for an army to winter in, which would necessarily oblige them to quit their possessions in that quarter.

The forces that the enemy have in Virginia under Lord Cornwallis, and at Portsmouth, from the best information I can get, amount to little more than five thousand men. The Marquis's regular force is not more than two to three; but there is a large body of militia in the field, and it may be increased to almost any number, if arms could be had. Twenty-five hundred regular forces, to be added to the Marquis's army, besides what may be expected from Pennsylvania and Virginia, would oblige Cornwallis to take a position and fortify himself; and if the supplies to his army could be cut off by water, which the fleet may easily effect, after the reduction of New York, he would be obliged to surrender in a fortnight or three weeks at most, for want of provisions; for I believe he has none laid in at any point, nor in expectation of being obliged to act on the defensive. At least, I am persuaded he has no apprehension of having his water communication interrupted. After the reduction of New York, I should suppose the whole French fleet might enter the Chesapeake, and, all hopes of escaping by water being removed, it would greatly contribute to the speedy surrender of the enemy, from the terror and apprehensions it would raise among the troops.

Charleston is the greatest object to the southward, as well from the strength of its garrison and dependencies, as from the advantages the enemy derive from the trade of the place, and the distress it brings upon the people for want of commerce, particularly in the article of salt. The place is strong, and difficult to approach. Large shipping can be of no use in the reduction of it. Frigates are the largest size that can enter the harbour. The enemy have fortified none of the islands, nor have they added many works

about the town. However, they have erected two large new works in front of the old lines, that mount from twenty to thirty pieces of cannon each. These works have great command of the town, as well as the rivers. One other new work is nearly completed on the marsh, called Shute's Folly, on the harbour side of the town, and intended to defend the place against shipping. The enemy have, from the best information I can get, in this State about four thousand infantry and four hundred horse, of regular troops. Besides these, they have near one thousand militia and Tories, who adhere to their interest. In addition to this, one thousand sailors, and four or five hundred negroes, may be calculated upon. Their collective strength will amount, in all probability, to between six and seven thousand men of different characters; and the militia Tories, from their being such exceeding good marksmen, will not be the least useful.

Our force in Continental troops will amount to little more than fifteen hundred men; from four to five hundred State troops, belonging to South Carolina; and, I imagine, from fifteen hundred to two thousand militia may be raised in North and South Carolina, to join in the reduction of Charleston. A greater force than this cannot be calculated upon, nor am I altogether certain so large a body of militia can be kept up during the siege; but it is possible a much greater can be got out upon so important an occasion, and when things wear so flattering a face. To reduce Charleston with certainty and despatch, not less than ten thousand troops should be added to the force that may be expected here; but if this force cannot be had, I should think it should be attempted with less. The garrison will doubtless have provisions in plenty;

and I believe, if we can command the water, our army may be easily supplied, provided the operations are brought to an issue before the 1st of January, or by that time. I have inclosed some notes respecting the places the most proper for landing; but General Lincoln and General Duportail can give you more particular information respecting this matter. If the operations cannot be carried on in Virginia and here at the same time, I think Charleston must have the preference, as the greatest object.

New York and Charleston being taken, the enemy will most assuredly leave Virginia, should time fail us to effect the reduction of the whole, which I hope will not be the case. All the stores of every kind necessary for the siege must come with the fleet, as we have nothing here to prosecute one with. The reduction of Charleston will naturally produce the surrender of Savannah and Wilmington, especially as there is but little force at either; not more than four hundred at one, and three hundred at the other. I think Charleston may be reduced in thirty days, after the troops effect a landing; and there can be no difficulty in this, as the enemy have no force at any of those places, nor will they venture to detach from town for the purpose. And it is not impossible, if the enemy should attempt to hold the upper country, a landing may be effected so speedily as to prevent their getting into town. This would greatly facilitate the reduction of the place, as well from the effect it would have upon the spirits of the garrison, as from the diminution of their force.

I suppose the British fleet on this coast, on the arrival of the French fleet, will immediately take shelter in New York, and assist in the defence of the place, or run off to the West Indies. The first would

be the most desirable, and is what I hope our good ally will oblige them to do. This would secure a superiority by sea during the whole campaign, which may be doubtful, should Admiral Rodney follow the French fleet from the West Indies, and effect a junction with the force on this coast. But, if the French effect a junction of theirs first, and block up the British in New York, so as to prevent a junction of their shipping, the enemy will not have it in their power either to raise the siege of the place or take off the garrison. But should the British fleet on this coast even run for the West Indies, there is the greatest probability of the two fleets missing each other on their passage, and still leave our allies masters of the sea, at least until New York can be reduced. But what I most wish is, that the force our ally means to employ upon this coast may be superior to the enemy's collective strength, both from the West Indies and on this coast. This will insure us success at all events.

As your Excellency is doubtless more fully informed respecting the force of both fleets, and of the intentions of our ally, than I am, and also of the probable aid which we may expect either from Europe or elsewhere, and as that will altogether govern our operations, I shall wait your directions respecting our preparations in this quarter. The enemy have no fortified posts in this State except Charleston, or in Georgia except Savannah. But their army is upon the Congaree, near McCord's Ferry. The distresses of the country are so great, and their calamities increase so fast, for want of salt and many other articles, as well as from the ravages of the enemy, that I wish it may be in our power, by the generous exertions of our good ally, to effect something for their

relief, more than the little temporary respites arising from partial advantages, which are all we can hope or expect from our little force in this country. If Lord Cornwallis should find that his situation in Virginia may expose him to the loss of his army, it is highly probable he will attempt to get back to Charleston by land or water. The first I shall endeavour to guard against, and the last I hope our ally will be able to prevent, by sending a few frigates into the Bay, or stationing them off the Capes.

The cavalry of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington's corps have taken, killed, and wounded, near forty of the enemy's cavalry since my last. The most considerable attack was made by Captain Watts. He charged a party of twenty odd of the enemy, with an inferior force, took six, killed three, and wounded eight or nine more. The enterprise of our cavalry equals any thing the world ever produced. With the most perfect respect and esteem, I am,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES CLINTON.

Albany, 9 August, 1781.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that this morning General Stark arrived here to take the command of this department, and I have communicated to him such of your Excellency's instructions as may tend to the good of the service, and security of the frontier. He reports that the militia from the eastward are in a state of preparation, and he expects a detachment of them in town by the last of this week. The levies from this State are coming in fast.

More than one hundred have already arrived, so that it is probable that, by the time I am favored with your further orders, matters will be in such train that I can move down without any impediment.

On Tuesday night, about ten o'clock, a most daring attempt was made by a party of the enemy, headed by a Captain Myers, to surprise General Schuyler in his house, at this place. With difficulty the General escaped into one of the upper chambers, and, by firing a few shot out of the window, alarmed the city. They were prevented from following him by the servants, who made every opposition in their power, against a decided superiority. Two of them (the servants) were taken off, with soldiers in and one wounded with a bayonet, also a quantity of plate, &c. Notwithstanding every exertion of the inhabitants, and of the troops in town, to intercept them, they made their escape, though I hope some of them may yet be taken, as the country through which they must pass is alarmed.

By a prisoner, we learn that a detachment, consisting of near thirty, left Canada the 16th ultimo, and divided into six small parties on the frontier, with a design to take off some respectable characters. One party was taken by a Bennington scout, with a certain Captain John Bleecker, and his negro, whom they were bringing off.

Since the above was written, I have been favored with yours of the 5th instant, and shall wait here your Excellency's further orders. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

JAMES CLINTON.

FROM CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

Philadelphia, 10 August, 1781

DEAR SIR,

The bearer, Mr. John Loveday, informs me that he hath had the honor to be recommended to an office in your Excellency's family, by some of your friends here. I cannot, in justice, deny him my testimony of his character. He has been Messenger of the Privy Council of our State four or five years, during which time he always behaved with the greatest diligence, attention, and secrecy, and he is, your Excellency may be assured, a strictly honest man. He was taken by the enemy a few days before Charleston capitulated, trusted with some important messages from Mr. Rutledge; was immediately closely confined, and, when we were shipped off to Augustine, sent with us. He is a sober, prudent, discreet man, very firm and steady to the cause.

Sixty-one of us, with our servants, arrived, in two small vessels, from Augustine, part about ten or twelve, and the remainder about five or six days since, thanks to Heaven, all in good health and spirits. We were in Augustine from the 15th of September to the 17th of last month, forty-two weeks of which I was confined in the Castle, and none of my friends permitted to see me, because I would not give another parole. I told them I had kept the first, as a gentleman; defied, and do still defy them to prove the contrary; and was determined never to take a second, which would imply a breach of the first. Their treatment of me, when taken up the 27th of August last, was much more severe and pointed than against any of my friends, which appears to me more owing to the station I was in,

than as Mr. Gadsden (though I believe no favorite as such); and my not being mentioned in the capitulation gave them an opportunity to affect treating me with rigor and contempt. I thought it a duty I owed to the general cause to refuse, to the last, giving a second parole, that I might be as a standing protest against such outrageous, tyrannical conduct.

When in the Castle, the officers were ordered, frequently, not to converse with me. However, many of them often did, and all of them behaved with decency. I never had the least insult offered me there. Once, indeed, there was an order against lighting a candle, in consequence of which I was without for two or three nights; but the pitifulness of this they were soon ashamed of themselves.

Mr. Ferguson and myself are waiting for our families, expected in a few days. As soon as we see them a little fixed, we shall set off for our State, as will most of the Carolina gentlemen here. We hope to be gone by the middle of next month, at farthest. I beg your Excellency's and the public's pardon, for taking up so much of your precious time; and am, with the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.*

* Mr. Gadsden was a Delegate in the First Congress from South Carolina. On the 16th of September, 1776, he was appointed a Brigadier-General in the Continental service, having previously commanded as Colonel of a regiment of militia at Fort Johnson at the time of the attack on Sullivan's Island. Some time afterwards, he resigned his commission in the army.

"When Charleston surrendered by capitulation, he was Lieutenant-Governor, and paroled as such, and honorably kept his engagement. For the three months which followed he was undisturbed; but on the defeat of Gates in August, 1780, the British resolved that he, and several others who discovered no disposition to return to the condition of British subjects, should be sent out of the country. He was

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 12 August, 1781.

SIR,

By a vessel from Cadiz last night, we are informed that our Minister at the Spanish Court, as late as the 11th June, had made but little progress in a negotiation with them. They still appear friendly, but aim at cessions we cannot make. They give encouragement respecting money at some times; again they are disappointed, and cannot promise any thing certain. They have, however, given Mr. Jay liberty to accept bills to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but have no known funds appropriated for the payment. In short, their conduct appears rather insincere and mysterious. Our public despatches are intercepted, or obstructed, insomuch that a free correspondence is almost impracticable. Mr. Gardoqui was to set off from Madrid for Phila-

accordingly taken in his own house by a file of soldiers, and put on board a vessel in the harbour. He knew not why he was taken up, nor what was intended to be done with him; but supposed it was introductory to a trial for treason or rebellion, as the British gave out that the country was completely conquered. He was soon joined by twenty-eight compatriots, who were also taken up on the same day. He drew from his pocket half a dollar, and turning to his associates, with a cheerful countenance, assured them that was all the money he had at his command. The conquerors sent him and his companions to St. Augustine, then a British garrison. On their landing, limits of some extent were offered to them on condition of their renewing the parole they had given in Charleston, 'to do nothing injurious to the British interest.' When this was tendered to General Gadsden, he replied, 'that he had already given one, and honorably observed it; that, in violation of his rights as a prisoner under capitulation, he had been sent from Charleston, and that, therefore, he saw no use in giving a second parole.' The Commanding Officer replied, 'he would enter into no arguments; but demanded an explicit answer, whether he would or would not renew his parole.' Ge-

delphia some time in June; but his intentions of coming here have been so often announced, and the delay not accounted for, that Mr. Jay will say nothing about him hereafter, until he has actually sailed.

France acts a truly friendly part. We shall certainly obtain from her this year twenty millions of livres, four of which will be retained for Dr. Franklin to discharge the interest on Loan-Office certificates; two supplied in military stores, &c., and the residue be subject to the directions of Congress. I have the strongest reason to believe, that Colonel Laurens is now on the ocean, and has with him two millions and a half of this money in specie. I pray most sincerely for his safe arrival.

It is as yet more than probable that there will be a negotiation for a general peace some time this fall; the Congress to assemble at Vienna. France has proposed that the United States of America shall have a Minister or Ministers Plenipotentiary at the Congress. The Emperor is afraid this proposition may

neral Gadsden answered, with that high-minded republican spirit, which misfortunes could not keep down,—‘I will not; in God I put my trust, and fear no consequences.’ He was instantly hurried off to the Castle, and there confined for ten months in a small room, and in a state of complete separation from his fellow-prisoners, and in total ignorance of the advantages gained by his countrymen; but with most ample details of their defeats, and particularly of the sequestration of his estate, with that of the other Carolina rebels.”

“In the course of 1781, the victories of General Greene procured an equivalent for the release of all the prisoners belonging to South Carolina. Mr. Gadsden was discharged from close confinement, and rejoined his fellow-prisoners. The reciprocal congratulations on the change of circumstances, and on seeing each other, after a ten months’ separation, though in the same garrison, may be more easily conceived than expressed. They were all conveyed by water from St. Augustine to Philadelphia, and there delivered. On their arrival they were informed, for the first time, of the happy turn American affairs had taken subsequent to Gates’s defeat. General Gadsden hastened back to Carolina to aid in recovering it from the British.” *Ramsay’s History of South Carolina*, Vol. II. p. 461.

obstruct a measure he has much at heart. It has been suggested that, if the United States are heard by memorial, it would probably answer; but to this France does not seem to consent. The Emperor was expected in June or July at Paris, on a visit; the probable consequence of which is yet *in dubio*.

Sweden and Denmark have refused to assist the Dutch with ships of war. Russia is undecided. Count Panin, the Prime Minister of Russia, is removed. Mr. Necker's resignation has been accepted by his most Christian Majesty. This great character was not agreeable to the Court of Spain, nor to the officers at Versailles. He is said to have conducted with too much *hauteur*.

Out of Admiral Rodney's thirty-four ships, laden with the plunder of St. Eustatia, M. Piquet has certainly captured twenty-four; and it is said that five more have been picked up by privateers. The escort, consisting of a seventy-four, one sixty-four, and two frigates, with five of the convoy, escaped by their swiftness in sailing. An expedition was in great forwardness at Cadiz, to consist of eight sail of the line, besides frigates, &c., and eight or ten thousand land forces, the destination unknown. They were to sail in July, and conjectured to be for the West Indies or this Continent.

By a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette, of the 6th, from Pamunky, we have intelligence that Lord Cornwallis, with the fleet formerly mentioned, and an addition of whaleboats, carrying the greatest part of the British army, have arrived in York River, and landed at Gloucester and Yorktown, which they now occupy. Your Excellency is probably acquainted with their situation. However, the Marquis describes the one to be a small neck, projected into the river; the

other, surrounded by the river and a morass. General O'Hara commands at Portsmouth. The Honorable Robert R. Livingston was appointed by Congress, on Friday last, Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Georgia has reëstablished her government, and South Carolina is expected to be soon in capacity to do the same. I am, Sir, with the most respectful attachment,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
THOMAS MCKEAN.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS AND RICHARD PETERS.

Camp, 13 August, 1781.

SIR,

The orders of Congress, which we have the honor to communicate, directing us to confer with your Excellency on the subject of the proposed numbers and arrangements of the army for the next campaign, not having pointed out the reasons inducing the measure, we have the honor to lay before you our ideas on the subject, so far as we are acquainted with the matter from a conference, at which we were present in Philadelphia, had by a Committee of Congress, the subscriber, as Superintendent of Finance, and the Board of War, pursuant to a resolution of Congress, with a copy of which your Excellency has been furnished.

After the full conversation with which we were honored the 12th ultimo, it is unnecessary to enter at large into those reasons, in order to urge the pressing necessity of economizing our affairs, so as to make our revenues, in a great degree, meet our expenses. Your Excellency must be equally sensible with us of this necessity; and we are perfectly convinced you are equally disposed to assist in every

measure tending to promote so desirable an object. You are also impressed with the impolicy of calling on the States for men and money in numbers and quantities so extensive as to alarm the timid, and to excite among men, the zealous and considerate, ideas of the impracticability of carrying on the war upon such terms. Demands of this nature, instead of animating to exertions, are only productive of hopeless languor. Your mortifying experience of the inadequate compliances heretofore with former demands, will explain the motives inducing to the expediency of moderating those demands, so as to render them productive, and, in case of failure, to leave the delinquent State without excuse.

Your Excellency has doubtless considered, that the class of men who are willing to become soldiers is much diminished by the war, and therefore the difficulties of raising an army, equal to former establishments, have increased, and will continue to increase, and embarrass the States in their measures for filling up their quotas, should the mode of recruiting the army be continued in the line. You will also have considered that the enemy, proportionably debilitated by the war, are incapable of opposing to us the force we originally had to encounter; and therefore the necessity of such extensive levies as we formerly raised, seems to be in some measure superseded. In what degree the forces of these States should be decreased, we do not pretend to determine, leaving this to your Excellency's better judgment. But from past experience, it should seem that the States are incapable of bringing into the field an army equal to that called for by the last arrangement. Or, if all the demands of Congress on the States become merely pecuniary, it does not seem probable that they can, or

will, furnish money for raising, equipping and supporting, such an army.

We should be happy, were we capable from any information we are possessed of, to assist your Excellency in the investigation of the subject, with respect to the probable designs or force of the enemy the next campaign. This must, in its nature, depend upon contingencies, at present even beyond conjecture. At this time, therefore, in our apprehension, the only solid ground of procedure is to consider what forces these States, under present circumstances, are capable of producing.

Having thus in general mentioned the ideas which have arisen on the subject, we beg to leave the matter to your Excellency's consideration, and take the liberty of proposing the following queries, after further mentioning that it has been conceived it would be expedient, in case of reform, to lessen the numbers of regiments, so as to make fewer commissioned officers necessary, and to increase the numbers of non-commissioned officers and privates in those regiments. It has been supposed that a considerable saving would ensue from this measure, by not having so many officers in full pay, with their horses, servants, baggage, and other consequential expenses in the field, or if they remain in quarters from want of command. We presume that gentlemen qualified for Staff-Officers might be found among the retiring officers, and that artificers and other persons employed by the Staff department should not enter into the present calculation, as the officers at the heads of those departments should be enabled to carry on their business without taking men from the line; a practice introduced from necessity, very prejudicial to discipline, and productive of pernicious consequences by diminishing the effective force of the army.

1st. Is a reduction of the number of officers and men, as fixed by the last arrangement of the army, expedient or proper?

2d. How can this reduction be brought about, consistently with the good of the service; and what arrangement should be made in consequence of this reduction?

The answers to the above queries will no doubt include the numbers of men necessary for the next campaign, and the organization of them, so as to designate the number of regiments and the numbers in those regiments, both of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates, as well regimentally as by companies. The expediency of having fewer regiments of horse and artillery, and of consolidating the independent corps, will also, we presume, come under your Excellency's consideration.

3d. What periods of enlistment, under present circumstances, are most proper to be adopted?

4th. What regulations can be made to modify the practice of taking soldiers from the line, as servants to officers?

On this head we beg leave to submit to your opinion a copy of a motion made in Congress on this subject. *

5th. What is to be done with officers by brevet, or those who have no particular command? Can they not be placed in the regiments, or retire on half-pay?

* The motion here alluded to was made in Congress by General Varnum, as follows.

"Resolved, that no officer be permitted to take with him on furlough any soldier, without receiving the permission of the Commander-in-chief or Commanding Officer of a separate department; and that the Board of War take order that all soldiers, now retained from the army in either department as waiters to officers, immediately join their respective corps."

6th. Would it be practicable, consistently with justice and the good of the service, to call into actual service officers who have retired on half-pay, by the former arrangements, to fill vacancies happening in the lines to which they respectively belong?

We have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS, *Superintendent of Finance.*

RICHARD PETERS, *Of the Board of War.*

FROM PRESIDENT WEARE.

Hampton Falls, 13 August, 1781.

SIR,

I am honored with the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 2d instant, informing me of the deficiency of the levies for the Continental army, and that none of the militia had come in from this State; and the critical situation you are now in, which most sensibly affects me. I have the fullest conviction of the necessity of the army being filled up to their full complement at this critical period, and the probable fatal consequences of a failure herein, or in their being properly supplied. And your Excellency may be assured, that no exertions have been wanting on the part of the Executive of the State for procuring their full quota of men and supplies. Immediately on the act passing, orders were issued for raising the men to complete our quota of the Continental army, and for raising four hundred of the militia, to be held in readiness to march within one week after being called for, agreeably to your Excellency's recommendation in your letter from Wethersfield of the 24th of May.

At that time Continental bills of the new emission had a full currency among us, and were the only medium we had. No provision was made for raising any specie, nor was there any circulating among us. Soon after that, from some unaccountable fatality, for what reason I cannot comprehend, the Continental bills were refused by the people in Massachusetts to be taken in payment for any thing, which was soon followed by the other neighbouring States, and they are now wholly rejected, and the smallest article of any kind cannot be purchased with them, so that we are wholly destitute of any medium. Hard money we have not, nor can we obtain any on any terms. Had it not been for this unaccountable and altogether unexpected destruction of our currency, the only one we had, I doubt not we should have been able to carry the acts fully into effect, excepting in that part of the State which, as I mentioned in my letter of the 23d of July, under pretence of joining with what they call Vermont, have refused to raise men or furnish supplies of any kind. So that there will be a deficiency on that account of more than a quarter part, both of men and supplies, until Congress, before whom the matter lies, shall determine upon it.

I am not able to give a perfect account of the number of recruits that have been raised for filling up the army. The returns that have been made amount to three hundred and twenty, but I have had no returns for more than a month past. As to the militia, we had not received the least information at what time they were to march and join the army, until your letter of the 2d instant, by which it appears you had given directions for their joining the army by the 15th of last month, which never came to hand. And now, by reason of the fatal rejection

of the Continental currency, we find it out of our power to raise money sufficient to carry them to the army. So that the Executive find themselves brought to a full stop, unable to proceed any further; and thereupon have sent out orders for convening the General Assembly as speedily as possible, who are to meet on the 22d instant, to consult what measures are to be pursued in our present situation.

It is with anxious concern that I am obliged to give your Excellency this information of our present situation. I will still hope that some method may be found out to extricate us from our present embarrassments, with respect to a medium. As our militia cannot march until the General Assembly meet, I will ask the favor of a line from you, as soon as may be, whether it will be of advantage to forward them at that late period. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect,

Your obedient and humble servant,

MESHECH WEARE.

FROM EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Philadelphia, 14 August, 1781.

I feel a real satisfaction, my dear General, in having it once more in my power to address you without the restraints that are imposed by captivity, and assure you that neither absence nor misfortunes have, in the smallest degree, abated the attachment and friendship I have so long borne you. I will not wound your humanity by a relation of the many hardships and unmanly insults we have sustained from British officers, and new-made subjects, during our confinement; nor shall I lament that we have

suffered, if our sufferings, and the firmness which I trust we have shown in the midst of apparent evils, can be converted into real blessings, by animating my countrymen to a sense of their duty, and convincing them that their only resource for happiness is in a freedom from British government.

The Congress seem disposed to avail themselves of our late situation, and have desired that we will furnish them with an authentic account of the conduct of the enemy, from the surrender of Charlesten to the time of our exchange, with a view, as we are told, of retaliating. But, to particularize one half of their cruelty and injustice, is beyond the reach of human labor. However, their most flagrant and atrocious acts of violence and oppression will be pointed out; and if the Congress should retain their present sentiments, they will soon possess materials, not only to justify, but to require and exact (if I may use a British officer's expression) "retaliation with a vengeance." Yet I imagine they have too much of the milk of human kindness in their composition to bear them through this painful, though necessary business. Indeed, warmed as I am by my own sufferings, and by what is of infinitely greater consequence, I mean the sufferings of my friends, I am persuaded I myself shall not be able to do moderate justice to the injured.

I find, by letters which were yesterday received from General Greene, that he is extremely anxious to have a civil government established in South Carolina. It is certainly a desirable object, but I hope it will not be attempted until General Wayne shall arrive with his troops in that State. To proceed to an election, without enabling such of the militia as are in the field to attend, would give vast advantage

to the disaffected and timid; and to withdraw the friends of the State from the field would be to expose the Continentals, whom I consider as the stamina of the army, to essential injury. Indeed, our country is, and has so long been, in a disjointed condition, that I really believe we shall have the whole business of civil government to go over. However, we must take "perseverance" for our motto, our crest, and arms, and we shall soon see, I hope, an end of our labors. I myself shall not be able to go to the southward until the latter end of September, at soonest. A constitution, naturally feeble, has of late years received very many shocks. I would therefore wish to remain in this part of the world until I could have a share of new health infused into it, as well on account of my country as of my friends and family. Yet, before I take a journey to my own State, I shall embrace the favorable opportunity which I possess, of paying my respects at head-quarters, and of assuring you, in person, how truly I am, my dear General,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Forks of York River, 21 August, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your letter of the 15th has safely come to hand. I am going to give you an account of matters in this quarter. The greater part of the enemy are at York, which they do not as yet fortify; but are very busy upon Gloucester Neck, where they have a pretty large corps under Colonel Dundas. They have at

York a forty-four gun ship; frigates and vessels are scattered lower down. There is still a small garrison at Portsmouth. Should they intend to evacuate, at least, they are proceeding with alarming slowness.

From the enemy's preparations I should infer that they are working for the protection of a fleet, and for a defence against another; that in case they hold Portsmouth, the main body would be at York, and a detached corps upon Gloucester Neck, to protect the water battery. Their fortifications are much contracted. From the enemy's cautious and partial movements, I should conclude their intelligence is not very good, and they wish to come at an explanation of my intentions and prospects. We have hitherto occupied the Forks of York River, thereby looking both ways. Some militia have prevented the enemy's parties from remaining any time at or near Williamsburg, and false accounts have given them some alarms. Another body of militia, under Colonel Innes, has kept them pretty close in Gloucester town, and foraged in their vicinity.

Upon the receipt of your orders, I wrote to the Governor that the intelligence of some plans of the enemy rendered it proper to have six hundred militia collected upon Blackwater. I wrote to General Gregory, near Portsmouth, that I had an account the enemy intended to push a detachment to Carolina, which would greatly defeat a scheme we had there. I have requested General Wayne to move towards the southward, and be ready to cross James River at Westover. A battalion of light infantry, and our only one hundred dragoons, being in Gloucester county, I call them my van-guard, and shall take my quarters there for one or two days, while the troops are filing off towards James River. Our little army will conse-

quently again assemble upon the waters of the Chickahominy; and should Jamestown Island be thought a good place for a junction, we shall be in a situation to form it, while we render it more difficult for the enemy to attempt a journey to Carolina.

I shall to-day write to the gentleman. Nothing as yet has appeared. I will take measures that he may hear from me the moment he arrives; taking whatever is in the rivers, and taking possession of the rivers themselves, while the main body defends the Bay; forming a junction of land forces at a convenient and safe point; checking the enemy, but giving nothing to chance, until properly reënforced. This is the plan I mean to propose. Some days ago I sent Washington to contrive the Maryland new levies out of their State. These Marylanders will be five hundred; Virginians, four hundred; Pennsylvanians, six hundred; light infantry, eight hundred and fifty; dragoons, one hundred and twenty. Such is the Continental force; and in the course of eight days the already called for militia will make three thousand. Every thing I put at the lowest estimate; but we may depend upon two thousand five hundred Continentals, rank and file, exclusive of artillery, and three, or, if more are wanted, four thousand militia. Maryland would send six hundred militia at least. I have two hundred more dragoons and horses ready, and am waiting for accoutrements.

There is such a confusion in affairs in this part of the world, that immense difficulties are found for a perfect formation of magazines. I have, however, strongly urged the matter. The moment I received your first letter, I sent Mr. McHenry to Richmond, who had long conversations about it with the Governor and Council. I have recommended such plans as might answer your purposes. This State has a

large quantity of beef, corn, some flour, very little rum. Maryland ought to be early called upon. Water transportation will, I hope, ease our difficulties. Had we any thing like money, matters would go on very well. The dry season has rendered most of the mills useless. We have no clothing of any sort; no heavy artillery in order. Some arms will be wanting, some horse accoutrements, and a great deal of ammunition. Nothing but your own entreaties may have a sufficient quantity of those articles transported to the head of the Bay. In the present state of affairs, my dear General, I hope you will come yourself to Virginia, and that, if the French army moves this way, I shall have, at least, the satisfaction of beholding you myself at the head of the combined armies; in which case I beg leave to recommend you may be accompanied by the heads of departments, which will save you an immense deal of trouble. The men we have here would not be equal to the task of a campaign upon so large a scale.

In two days I will write again to your Excellency, and keep you particularly and certainly informed, unless something is done the very moment, and it will probably be difficult. Lord Cornwallis must be attacked with a pretty great apparatus. But when a French fleet takes possession of the Bay and rivers, and we form a land force superior to his, that army must, soon or late, be forced to surrender, as we may get what reënforcements we please. Adieu, my dear General. I heartily thank you for having ordered me to remain in Virginia; and to your goodness to me I am owing the most beautiful prospect I may ever behold. With the most affectionate respect, I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Camden, 26 August, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Since I wrote your Excellency, by Colonel Morris, nothing very material has taken place, except the hanging of Colonel Hayne, one of our militia Colonels, whom the enemy hung in Charleston, a little time since, as a traitor, as they call him. He was a man of a most amiable character, highly respected, and of a most extensive influence. This insult, offered to the good people of this country, and to the business of exchange, it being a most flagrant violation of the cartel, I am determined to retaliate; and, as the enemy are indifferent about their militia officers, I mean to retaliate on the British officers, as the surest way of putting a stop to a practice that can only serve to gratify private revenge.

General Marion and Colonel Lee have taken a few prisoners since I wrote before, in the whole between twenty and thirty, three or four of whom are officers. The rivers have been so high, owing to the great rains, as has prevented parties passing them with sufficient ease to attempt surprises. We are endeavouring to draw a body of militia together at Friday's Ferry, and are on our march to that place to combine our forces, and make an attack on the enemy at McCord's Ferry, if our force will authorize the attempt when we are collected.

I am much at a loss, what are Lord Cornwallis's intentions in Virginia. I have directed the Marquis to govern his motions by the enemy's, and to detach here, if they detach largely from there, and not without. I am totally ignorant of what is going on at

New York, having heard nothing from your Excellency since June, which induces me to believe your despatches are intercepted. I pray God the expedition against New York may succeed, and prove the corner-stone of American independence, as it undoubtedly would. I wait with impatience for intelligence, by which I mean to govern my own operations. If things are flattering in the north, I will hazard less in the south; but, if otherwise there, we must risk more here. With every wish for your Excellency's safety, glory, and success, I am, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Office of Finance, Philadelphia, 28 August, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 27th, from Chatham, has just been delivered to me by Colonel Miles, and, in consequence, I have advised him to secure the assistance of the President and Council of this State, in case it should be necessary. But, as a preferable mode of procuring the craft, I advise his engaging to pay them in a short time after the service is performed; and, if needful, I shall join in this assurance, and finally see it performed.

I directed the Commissary-General, immediately on my return from camp, to cause the deposit of three hundred barrels of flour, three hundred barrels of salt meat, and twelve hogsheads of rum, to be made at the Head of Elk, and pointed out the means of obtaining them. For this purpose, he sent down a

Deputy some days since, and I expect all will be ready there. I have written to the Quarter-master of Delaware and Maryland, Mr. Donaldson Gates, to exert himself in procuring the craft. I am much more apprehensive on the score of craft in Delaware and Chesapeake. I have written to the Governor, and several of the most eminent merchants in Baltimore, to extend their assistance and influence in expediting this business. Foreseeing the necessity of supplies from Maryland and Delaware, I have written, in the most pressing terms, to the Governors and Agents, to have the specific supplies required of them by Congress in readiness for delivery to my order; and now that your movements must be unfolded to them, I shall still more strongly show the necessity, and stimulate their exertions by holding forth what is due to their own immediate interest and safety. But still I fear you will be disappointed in some degree as to the shipping, and that I shall be compelled to make purchases of provisions, which, if it happens, must divert the money from those payments to the army that I wish to make. I have already advised your Excellency of the unhappy situation of money matters, and very much doubt if it will be possible to pay the detachment a month's pay, as you wish. Therefore it will be best not to raise in them any expectation of that kind. Should it come unexpectedly, so much the better. I do not think it practicable to provide the salt provisions here, even if a disappointment happens in New England; but have particularly recommended attention to the article in Maryland, which is to furnish ten thousand five hundred barrels of beef and pork.

No news here yet of the Count de Grasse; but I have had occasion to lament that too many people

have, for some days past, seemed to know your Excellency's intended movements. This city is filled with strangers, so that Colonel Miles cannot procure private lodgings, and my family being chiefly at Springetsbury, affords me the opportunity of appropriating my house in town to your use. I believe we can accommodate your Aids, &c., with mattresses, but our beds are chiefly in the country; and as what I have cannot possibly be appropriated to a better use, I beg your Excellency will consider and use my house, and what it affords, as your own.

I have the honor to be, your devoted servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

FROM COLONEL MILES.

Philadelphia, 29 August, 1781.

SIR,

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 27th; and you may be assured that nothing shall be left undone, that is within my power to accomplish, in the business you have committed to me. But I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that all the river-craft and topsail vessels in this harbour that can possibly be got ready for sailing within the time limited, or for many days after, I much fear will fall short of your expectations. However, I hope to have between twenty and thirty sail of river-craft, which will carry, on an average, one hundred men, or perhaps some more, at Trenton, by the 31st; and others shall follow as fast as possible. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

SAMUEL MILES.

FROM COLONEL BRODHEAD.

Fort Pitt, 29 August, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

Since my last, one man was killed by the Indians near the mouth of Cross Creek. I suppose this hath been done by some of the enemy's spies. The country has taken the alarm, and several hundred men are now in arms upon the frontier. I hope to be able to repel the enemy. The Maryland corps was stationed at a post on the frontier of Westmoreland county, and have in a body deserted and crossed the mountains. Indeed, I am apprehensive the other corps will soon follow their example, if their sufferings are not speedily attended to.

I have sent spies up the Alleghany, with orders to proceed to Presque Isle, and further, if it is practicable, to discover the enemy, should they actually be on that route, and, if possible, to bring me a prisoner. Things here are in the utmost confusion; some officers confessing me to be the Commanding Officer, and others, Colonel Gibson; nor is it likely they will alter until your Excellency's pleasure is expressed. I have the honor to be, with the most sincere attachment and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD.

FROM GOVERNOR LEE, OF MARYLAND.

In Council, Annapolis, 30 August, 1781.

SIR,

We are honored by your Excellency's letter of the

27th; and we receive, with the greatest satisfaction, the intelligence of the approach of the fleet of our generous ally. You may rely, Sir, on every exertion that is possible for us to make, to accelerate the movements of the army on an expedition, the success of which must hasten the establishment of the independence of America, and relieve us from many of the calamities of war.

Orders have been issued for the impressing of every vessel belonging to the State, and forwarding them without delay to the Head of Elk. But we are sorry to inform your Excellency that, since the enemy has had possession of the Bay, our number of sea-vessels and craft has been so reduced by captures, that we are apprehensive what remains will not transport so considerable a detachment. We have directed the State officers to procure immediately, by purchase or seizure, five thousand head of cattle and a large quantity of flour. There is very little salt provision in the State, but what can be obtained we trust will be collected. Part of the provision will be deposited at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town, and Georgetown. Most of the cattle will be kept in good pastures not far distant from the Bay and rivers, so that they may with ease be forwarded to any point where they may be required. We have directed sufficient quantities of forage to be laid in at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town, and Georgetown, for the use of the army. The third regiment, consisting of about six hundred men, and under the command of Colonel Adams, marched from this city last Tuesday; and about seven hundred of the new levies, now here, will move in a few days. Every aid that can be given Mr. Morris will be afforded with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity. We have the honor to be, with

the highest personal respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,
THOMAS SIM LEE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Trenton, half past 5, P. M., 31 August, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was honored with your favor of this date at half past one, at the Landing. We have put, and are putting on board the vessels, the ordnance, ordnance-stores, &c. I shall send, in the same vessels, the corps of artillery, corps of sappers and miners, and also General Hazen's regiment. By sending General Hazen's regiment, I suppose it will be unnecessary to send the hundred men you mentioned. I thought it was best to send whole corps, and not a detachment, as the former mode would fully comply with the spirit of your orders. The vessels, I expect, will leave this at about seven o'clock, so as to be down early in the morning. I have ordered them to wait on your Excellency for further orders.

The light troops, the Jersey brigade, and Colonel Van Schaick, will leave this in the morning. As there are so many empty wagons, I think the troops, with their aid, will march with ease and despatch. This idea, and the necessity the French will have for the vessels, have induced me to send none by water, saving the invalids and those before mentioned. I shall detain one vessel to receive such of the stores as are in our rear with Colonel Cortlandt, and may not be exposed to rain. The other stores and the

troops can go on in the same boats they have with them. Their wagons will be made light, and sent round. The moment I have made the necessary arrangements, I will follow the troops, and wait on your Excellency at Philadelphia. I am, dear General,

With the greatest respect, yours, most obediently,
BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, Williamsburg, 8 September, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your letter of the 2d instant is just come to hand. Mine of yesterday mentioned that the ships in York River had gone down. Inclosed is an account I receive of an engagement off the Capes. What disposition has been made for the internal protection of the Bay, I do not know. James River is still guarded, but we have not as yet received any letter from Count de Grasse, relative to his last movements. I hasten to communicate them, as your Excellency will probably think it safer to keep the troops at the Head of Elk until Count de Grasse returns. Indeed, unless the greatest part of your force is brought here, a small addition can do but little more than we effect. Lord Cornwallis will, in a little time, render himself very respectable. I ardently wish your whole army may soon be brought down to operate.

We will make it our business to reconnoitre the enemy's works, and give you, on your arrival, the best description of them in our power. I expect the Governor this evening, and will again urge the necessity of providing what you have recommended. By

a letter from New York, I hear that two British frigates followed the French fleet, and returned after they had seen them out of the Capes. A spy says that two schooners, supposed to be French, have been seen landing, up York River. But we have nothing so certain as to insure your voyage, though it is probable that Count de Grasse will soon return.

I beg leave to request, my dear General, that in your answer to the Marquis de St. Simon, you will express your admiration at the celerity of their landing, and your sense of their cheerfulness in submitting to the difficulties of the first movements. Indeed, I should be happy something might also be said to Congress on the subject. Your approbation of my conduct emboldens me to request that, as General Lincoln will of course take command of the American part of your army, the division I shall have under him may be composed of the troops which have gone through the fatigues and dangers of the Virginian campaign. This will be the greatest reward of the services I may have rendered, as I confess I have the strongest attachment to those troops. With the highest respect, I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM JAMES DUANE, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 9 September, 1781.

I need not tell you, my dear General, what I felt on the critical arrival of Count de Grasse's squadron. Accept my warmest congratulations. The most decisive advantages may reasonably be expected from this generous and formidable coöperation. But I will

not anticipate. The Financier has relieved my solicitude for the New York line. A month's pay, however inadequate to their claims, will raise their spirits; at least, appease their discontent.

I have this moment despatches from the northward, particularly from General Schuyler. The Indians have, within a few days, revisited Cobus Kill and Schoharie, burned several houses, and captivated some of the inhabitants; and there is reason to be apprehensive that they will destroy the grain, which is doubtless their principal object, in this incursion. General Schuyler mentions that there are not less than eighty or ninety thousand bushels of wheat at Schoharie alone, which he has in vain essayed to bring away.

Since your Excellency's departure, we have thrown the solitary remnant of our Marine into the management of our Financier. It will save a capital expense, as the Admiralty, Navy Boards, and their subordinate offices, are dissolved. When the number of our ships and the circumstances of our Treasury justify it, the appointment of the Minister of the Marine will be seasonable. The Board of the Treasury, and its dependents, will, in a few days, undergo a similar reform. I expect those measures will prove a fruitful source of invective against those who have introduced and pressed them; and I am content to take my share.

I have the pleasure to transmit this letter by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens. In the execution of his late mission, he has acquired great honor and given entire satisfaction. From having his report under consideration, as a member of a Special Committee, I had an opportunity of minute inquiry; and I am convinced he has done every thing which could be

expected, under delicate circumstances, from an able Minister. He has further increased his reputation by asking leave, immediately after his report, to take the field, and by declining any recompense for his essential services; a disinterestedness which forms a striking contrast between him and some other characters. Congress have given him a testimonial of their approbation, which I do myself the honor to inclose. I wish it may be in your Excellency's power to distinguish Colonel Laurens by a command. You may be assured that it will be highly pleasing to Congress. With every sentiment of affectionate attachment and respect, and the most sincere wishes for your glory and success, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

JAMES DUANE.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Hartford, 15 September, 1781.

SIR,

Your letter of the 21st ultimo arrived on the 5th instant, whereupon my Council being convened, amidst various accounts of the movements and designs of the enemy in New York, and some apprehensions of their hostile attack upon or invasion of this State, every exertion was made and making for its defence, by ordering the militia to be reviewed, and detachments to be sent to the sea-coasts, and valuable effects there deposited to be removed to interior parts, &c.

But unfortunately, before those preparations could be completed, namely, on the 6th instant, a party under the command of the infamous Arnold, made wanton destruction both of lives and property in New

London and Groton, near the harbour. Though many material circumstances, relative to the tragical scene, are not yet obtainable with such a degree of precision and certainty as might be wished, yet, according to the best intelligence I have been able to collect, it seems a number exceeding one and perhaps two thousand, chiefly of chosen British and foreign troops, landed in the morning on both sides of the harbour's mouth, whereof one division immediately marched up to, and soon took possession of the town and fortifications of New London, which were evacuated on their approach, as being indefensible; whilst, on the opposite shore, the fort on Groton bank, being attacked by six or eight hundred men, was nobly defended for a considerable time by about one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Ledyard, who bravely repulsed the assailants until they suffered about one fourth part in killed and wounded. But, being overpowered by superior numbers, Colonel Ledyard, perceiving the enemy had gained possession of some part of the fort, and opened the gate, although he had only three of his men killed, thought proper to surrender himself with the garrison prisoners, and accordingly presented his sword to a British officer on the parade, who received the same, and immediately thrust it through that brave but unfortunate Commander; whereupon the soldiery also pierced his body in many places with bayonets, and proceeded to massacre upwards of seventy of the officers and garrison, till, by the interposition of a British officer, who entered the fort too late to rescue the gallant officers, &c., about forty of the defenceless survivors were made prisoners, and carried off, exclusive of about the like number, who were wounded, and many of them dangerously.

This heroic opposition on the part of the garrison, however, together with the increasing appearance of the militia, and small skirmishes between some scattering parties and advanced guards, prevented the enemy from fully executing their savage plan, and occasioned them to retreat on board in the evening with precipitation, after having knocked off the trunnions of seven guns, and consumed by fire about seventy-one dwelling-houses, sixty-five stores, twenty-two barns, a church, court-house, and jail, together with a number of vessels, lying unrigged, by the wharves. The rest of the shipping in the harbour was saved by running up Norwich River, and several valuable buildings, on each shore, preserved by quenching the flames.

The loss of property by the conflagration was, however, very great, and ruinous to many individuals, as also a sensible damage to the public. Yet, what is more to be regretted, is the unhappy fate of that worthy officer, Colonel Ledyard, and those brave men (many of whom sustained respectable characters, and were esteemed the flower of that town), who so gallantly fought and unfortunately fell with him, victims to British cruelty. I have given directions for procuring authenticated information of those transactions, as soon as the situation of the wounded and prisoners (some of whom are paroled) will admit; which will be forwarded as soon as obtained. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, High Hills of Santee,
17 September, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter, of the 30th July, I have had the honor to receive, before the receipt of which I had sent off two of my Aids to give your Excellency a very particular account of the Southern department.

By Colonel Morris, I wrote my opinion respecting the proper objects to operate against, should we be so happy as to be joined by our good ally. I presume he is with your Excellency before this, as the Marquis informs me you were to be at the Head of Elk the 8th of this instant, on your way to take command in Virginia, and that our good ally was in the Chesapeake with a large fleet and a considerable land force. I wish most devotedly that glory and success may attend you. I was in hopes that our force would have been equal to a serious attempt upon New York; but, from your present plan of operations, I persuade myself that it is not the case. But, perhaps, cutting off the possibility of succour to New York first, may be the most sure way of laying a foundation for its reduction. If Cornwallis falls, which I think nothing can prevent but his escaping through North Carolina to Charleston, Charleston itself may be easily reduced, if you will bend your forces this way. And it will afford me great pleasure to join your Excellency in the attempt; for I shall be equally happy, whether as principal or subordinate, so that the public good is promoted.

Since I wrote to you before, we have had a most bloody battle. It was by far the most obstinate fight

I ever saw.* Victory was ours; and had it not been for one of those little incidents which frequently happen in the progress of war, we should have taken the whole British army. Nothing could exceed the gallantry of our officers, or the bravery of the troops. I do myself the honor to inclose you a copy of my letter to Congress, and beg leave to refer you to Captain Pierce, one of my Aids, who is the bearer, and who will give your Excellency a full history of all matters in this department, both as to force and supplies. I am trying to collect a body of militia to oppose Lord Cornwallis, should he attempt to escape through North Carolina. And you may rest assured nothing shall be left unattempted, in my power, to impede his march, so as to give your army time to get up with him; but my force is very small, and I am exceedingly embarrassed with numerous wounded. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Epping Forest, 17 September, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor of replying to your polite and agreeable letter of July the 15th, by my son Ludwell, whom I expected either to wait on you with it in Virginia, or to get the letter forwarded by the Marquis de Lafayette. Although I am at this time laboring under a severe fit of the gout, it is impos-

* Battle of the Eutaw Springs, which was fought on the 8th of September.

sible to refrain from congratulating you, and rejoicing with our country on the present happy and glorious prospect before us. The very judicious and decisive step that you have taken in coming here, seems to put it out of the power of fortune to prevent the enemy in this State from falling into your hands. At least my mind can reach but to two preventives — the coming of naval aid from Europe, which is hardly possible; and the want of provisions for our good allies and ourselves, which cannot be probable. A proper watch will surely be kept upon marine motions in Europe, to prevent the repetition of such scenes as the relieving of Gibraltar. And it is inadmissible that, in this land of abundance, so disgraceful a thing should happen as the dispersion of a force collected for our salvation, for want of provisions, which now the country abounds with.

I assure you, Sir, the Commissaries' and Quartermasters' departments in the State, so far as I have observed them, have in every thing been the reverse of right, insomuch that I have been well informed the few troops with the Marquis have frequently felt distress for want of provisions. At present the land and sea force, which may come to lean on these broken staffs, will probably reach to forty-five or fifty thousand men. We have now a good character at the head of our State and War Offices, and I make no doubt but that he will exert all his powers with diligence. To prevent, however, the greatest of all misfortunes, want of success from want of provisions, can we not add some methods not destructive of the present plans, and which may aid their efficiency? Suppose immediate notice were given to the possessors of good merchant mills, that they should be paid with specie for the flour they brought to your army

and the navy, and a better price for it the sooner it reached. And wherever a competent person would undertake in a reasonable time to deliver a proper quantity, let his mill and wagons have protection from the destructive talons of impressors. Upon these last, let me here make one observation for all. Their grip generally squeezes the best citizens, and leaves the rest, and is always executed for the greater ease and profit of the impressor, so that now the people in general are exerting their wits to elude and hide their property from these characters. To prevent this plan from being executed with partiality, and upon views of job, some men having knowledge of the country, of honor, integrity, and diligence, should be employed to ride through the upper counties and see as much flour despatched as possible. With regard to the hard money, I suppose that our allies will furnish a sufficiency for their own supply, which will leave no great matter for us; and this, if we are rightly informed here, our Congress Financier might furnish, since the return of Colonel Laurens from France.

The present mode of getting beef from the several circles would answer, if diligently executed. But to aid this, for health, as well as plenty, suppose that an active Justice of the Peace, first Militia Officer, and one of the Delegates in each county, or any two of the three, were immediately, by government, empowered and exhorted to proceed with diligence and take one half of the bacon and salt beef in possession of every family, and despatch it in pressed wagons, carts, or vessels, immediately to the army. The season now is, when persons in the country may find many resources beside salted meat to subsist upon. In short, victory must not be prevented by want of

victuals, and these must be obtained at any rate. Although I have seen the baneful influence of these impresses, yet, upon this great and apparently final occasion, it seems admissible to extend a little under proper direction, not to destroy the present system. I mean in this exigence to aid, not to annihilate now, the old imperfect plan. I should suppose that if specie pay were promised, the fleet might be well furnished with vegetables from the water-bound counties.

I assure your Excellency that I should not have troubled you, or roused from my present state to make these observations, if it were not because of my great anxiety lest we should fail of the happy end before us for want of provisions; and upon this principle I am sure of your pardon. But now that I am thus engaged, permit me to make a few observations upon the negroes now with the enemy, in case of the surrender of the latter. I have been told that it is fixed, but whether by civil or military power, I know not, that the owners, or any other person, may have the slaves on paying five pound specie into the public treasury for each. It would seem that the unfortunate owners should be relieved on terms as easy as possible. The Admiralty has some regulations upon subjects taken within their Province; but how they apply to this case, I see not. And I believe that the singular manner in which Great Britain has conducted this war against America, leaves no clue to direct us in former practice. Force, fraud, intrigue, theft, have all in turn been employed to delude these unhappy people, and to defraud their masters! My brother William has lost sixty-five, among whom are about forty-five valuable grown slaves and useful artisans. I would say nothing in his favor from his many other losses, or the personal injuries that have

befallen him from his attachment to his native country. General systems will be applied to general subjects, and I shall be content with those that you establish. I would only observe, that he is now upon the Continent of Europe, where he has been detained by the disagreeable consequences that might follow the committing his wife and children to the sea in these precarious times, and the necessity of his presence with them in a foreign land, where he is sufficiently distressed for their support; the profits of his estate here having all been put into the town offices, and his numerous debts in England not recoverable at present. He has now no day in their Court, and no lawyer has been found that would bring suits for him. Perhaps it will be thought equitable, if any salvage is demanded, to allow absentees a reasonable indulgence for payment. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem, Sir, your Excellency's

Most affectionate and obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL MORGAN.

20 September, 1781

SIR,

At a time like this, when your Excellency's every moment must be devoted to the grand business of America, I know you can have but little leisure for letters. If the feelings of my heart will not permit me to be silent, I cannot avoid congratulating your Excellency on the present favorable appearance of our affairs. I cannot avoid telling your Excellency how much I wish you success, and how much I wish

that the state of my health would permit me to afford my small services on this great occasion. Such has been my peculiar fate, that, during the whole course of the present war, I have never on any important event had the honor of serving under your Excellency. It is a misfortune I have ever sincerely lamented. There is nothing on earth would have given more real pleasure, than to have made this campaign under your Excellency's eye; to have shared the dangers, and let me add, the glory too, which I am almost confident will be acquired. But, as my health will not admit of my rejoining the army immediately, I must beg leave to repeat to your Excellency my most earnest wishes for your success, and for your personal safety. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

DANIEL MORGAN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp, before York, 30 September, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

You have so often been pleased to ask I would give my opinion upon any subject that may occur, that I will this day take the liberty to mention a few articles. I am far from laughing at the idea of the enemy's making a retreat. It is not very probable; but it is not impossible. Indeed, they have no other way to escape, and since we cannot get ships above York, I should be still more afraid of a retreat by West Point, than any thing else. The French husars remaining here, our dragoons and some infantry might be stationed somewhere near West Point,

rather on the north side. I see the service is much done by details, and, to use your permission, I would take the liberty to observe, that when the siege is once begun it might be more agreeable to the officers and men to serve, as much as possible, by whole battalions.

Colonel Scammell is taken. His absence I had accounted for by his being officer of the day. I am very sorry we lose a valuable officer; but though Colonel Scammell's being officer of the day has been a reason for his going in front, I think it would be well to prevent the officers under the rank of Generals or Field-Officers reconnoitring, for the safety of their commands, from advancing so near the enemy's lines. There is a great disproportion between Huntington's and Hamilton's battalions. Now that Scammell is taken, we might have them made equal, and put the eldest of the two Lieutenant-Colonels on the right of the brigade.

I have, these past days, wished for an opportunity to speak with your Excellency on Count de Grasse's demand relative to M. de Barras's fleet. This business being soon done, we may think of Charleston, at least of the harbour; or of Savannah. I have long and seriously thought of this matter; but would not be in a hurry to mention it, until we know how long this will last. However, it might be possible to give Count de Grasse an early hint of it, in case you agree with him upon the winter departure of the whole fleet for the West Indies.

One of my reasons to wish troops, though not in great numbers, to be sent to Gloucester county, by way of West Point, is, that for the first days it will embarrass any movement of the enemy up the river, or up the country, on either side; and when it is in

Gloucester county it may be thought advantageous, by a respectable regular force, to prevent the enemy's increasing their works there, and giving us the trouble of a second operation; and, at the same time, it will keep from York a part of the British forces. With the highest regard and most sincere affection, I have the honor to be, dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
LAFAYETTE.

FROM FRANCISCO RENDON.*

Philadelphia, 2 October, 1781.

SIR,

I have just now received a letter from Don Bernardo de Galvez, Commander of His Majesty's forces in the Province of Louisiana and Florida, acquainting me with his desire of employing the forces under his command in the most effectual manner against the common enemy, and of being able to favor, by his operations, those which the combined armies may undertake at the southward of this Continent. He desires me earnestly to keep well informed of the state and progress of military operations here, and of the measures which may be adopted for the recovery of such parts of the Southern States as are now invaded by the enemy. He recommends me to transmit him the information I shall be able to procure on this subject, with the greatest secrecy and despatch, that he may speedily determine on the ultimate plan of his operations; and I am authorized to send him an advice-ship, if I can find no immediate oppor-

* Agent from the Spanish Government.

tunity for the Havana. I have thought it indispensably necessary to despatch immediately an express to your Excellency, to lay before you the dispositions of General Galvez, and entreat you to put it in my power to send him such intelligence as may enable him to form effectual plans to press the enemy on all sides, and bring them sooner to the terms of an honorable peace, which is a common object to us all.

Inclosed I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a copy of a letter from the same General to Admiral Count de Grasse, respecting the capitulation of Pensacola. I am happy thereby to have it in my power to convince you that the friendly disposition of the Spanish towards America is by no means altered, and that they have at heart the success of these United States as much as their own.

I beg your Excellency will detain the express as little as possible. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

FRANCISCO RENDON.

FROM GOVERNOR RUTLEDGE.

High Hills of Santee, 5 October, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I heartily congratulate your Excellency on the powerful aid which you have received from his Most Christian Majesty; and, I doubt not, that the combined forces, under your command, will soon compel Lord Cornwallis to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners. Indeed, it seems almost impossible that they should escape.

I wrote your Excellency about the 6th ultimo, by

Colonel Morris, soliciting such aid as might be necessary for the recovery of Charleston, as soon as New York should fall. This I did upon a presumption that your first attempt would be against that garrison. However, the season was so far advanced before Count de Grasse's arrival, that I apprehend, considering how much time the operations in Virginia must necessarily consume, that the attack upon New York must be postponed for this year.

No man can be more fully persuaded than myself of your Excellency's unremitted attention to each of the United States (how distant soever from you), and of your earnest desire to rescue every part of them from the enemy. I should not, therefore, offer to intrude upon you, when every moment of your time must be engaged in matters of the utmost importance, was it not from a fear (which I hope is groundless, and proceeding only from my anxiety for the country) that the French forces will be desirous of returning to the West Indies, when their present immediate object is accomplished. Should this be their intention, I must entreat your Excellency to endeavour to dissuade them, by the most powerful arguments, from such a measure. A siege of Charleston, by the force now in Virginia, cannot fail to succeed in three or four weeks. While such a French fleet as the present is on our coast, the British fleet will not leave New York; and while they remain there, the French have nothing to fear on account of the West India Islands. The recovery of the Southern States would probably occasion an immediate offer to America of the acknowledgment of her independence, and of an acceptable peace.

On the contrary, at this juncture, when the hopes and expectations of our friends in the southernmost

States are raised to the greatest height, and our enemies here, both foreign and domestic, are struck with the utmost terror, and justly think every thing on the brink of being irrecoverably lost, a desertion of these States, by the force of our ally, would produce the worst of consequences. Many people, seeing no reason for such unaccountable conduct, the very reverse of what they have been led by authority to expect, will immediately begin to despond, and be induced to believe the report which, though groundless, is constantly circulated by the enemy, that these States will be given up to Great Britain, if the independence of the rest can be obtained. The spirits of the disaffected will be revived. The inhabitants of the country [will continue] in a miserable condition, destitute of every necessary supply, not having, while the enemy are possessed of our seaports, and command our inlets, the means of procuring them; and certainly, while they hold what they now have in these three States (though they should not be able to increase their possessions, which however they might if reënforced, as without doubt they would be), they will not incline to admit our independence, nor, on the other hand, will Congress give it up, though the war will be protracted, until these countries are totally recovered. But, if that event is not now effected, who can say when it will be, or when a period so favorable as the present will again offer?

These, and all other reasons, which may be adduced to influence the French Commanders to assist in an attack upon Charleston, will, I am persuaded, have already occurred to your Excellency. I have, therefore, only to repeat my most earnest request, that you will prevail upon the principal officers of our

ally not to suffer so glorious an opportunity that now presents itself to slip, without laying hold of what is almost within their reach; and offer my most fervent wishes, that all your undertakings may be crowned with success. I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Camp, 5 October, 1781.

SIR,

It may be proper that I report to your Excellency the circumstances and events of my late journey to Williamsburg. I was unable to leave camp the 2d instant until late in the afternoon, which prevented my reaching Williamsburg till the evening.

I immediately waited on the Intendant with Count Chastellux's letter, reciting the agreement he had made with me respecting the future employment of the vessels, and desiring him to pay me two thousand dollars on account of their services. The Intendant declined doing it, but proposed to see me the next morning, when he would get an interpreter, that we might fully understand one another. I met him at sunrise; but, after a long conversation, he finally refused a compliance, in any respect, with the agreement of Count Chastellux. He observed, that neither Count Chastellux, as Major-General, nor Count Rochambeau, as Commander-in-chief, had a right to make any agreements obligatory on him; that he had been constantly disappointed, in every undertaking of Government, from Rhode Island to Virginia; that he

was answerable with his head, if the King's army were not duly supplied; that money insured supplies; and that he could depend on nothing but the direct application of it by his own agents. I was now fearful that the proposed plan must be wholly given up. But afterwards I concerted measures with Colonel Wadsworth and Mr. Carter for prosecuting it, and, by their assistance, have been enabled to do it for the present. On my arriving at Trebel's Landing, I found many vessels unfit for service. These, exceeding twenty in number, I discharged. All the others that were unloaded were formed into squadrons for different ports, to bring supplies to the army. Most of them sailed yesterday morning.

Commodore Barron arrived at Williamsburg just in time to go with me to the Landing; yet, with his assistance, I was not able to arrange the vessels, finish the unloading of some, furnish them with provisions, and write their various orders, till yesterday morning. A competent number will call on the Count de Grasse to land the marines at the place your Excellency directed, if this should not have been already effected; for Commodore Barron informed that before he left the fleet, the Admiral intended to land them without delay.

There is one vessel at the Landing, which came from Rhode Island with salted provisions, which yet remain unloaded. I do not know the quantity she has on board, but I believe not above a hundred or a hundred and fifty barrels. If there be no material objection, I would have it landed, that the vessel might be discharged, or employed in transporting supplies. At present she serves only as a storehouse for that small quantity of provisions, at the rent of two thousand five hundred and fifty-five a year.

I trouble your Excellency with this information, because Colonel Stewart, some days since, suggested that it was your Excellency's desire, that this salted meat should be preserved for some special occasions, and that it was necessary to have it remain on board. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Berkley County, 7 October, 1781.

SIR,

The secrecy and expedition of your Excellency's movement from the North River, defeated my wish to have paid you my compliments in person upon your route, as I never knew of your being upon the march until you had passed Alexandria. In this remote corner, I seldom see a newspaper; and though we ought to have a post once a fortnight, we are in that often disappointed.

I hope your Excellency received my letter of the 22d of May, from Philadelphia. I should have been happy to know your sentiments thereupon, but do most readily conceive the vast public business, with which you are constantly surrounded, has deprived me of that satisfaction. Ever willing to give my little aid to serve this, our much injured country, I should rejoice to be instrumental to your Excellency's success in any way you would please to command; but I think you would not wish me to act under the stigma, that has been so ungenerously laid upon me.

The bearer, Mr. Blue, a reputable farmer from the south branch of the Potomac, desires to contract for

the delivery of three hundred beeves to your army. As I believe he is a person that will perform his promise, I recommend him to your Excellency.

That the Supreme Disposer of events may crown your labors with a glorious and complete victory is the earnest request of, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
HORATIO GATES.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 12 October, 1781.

SIR,

I had the honor of writing last to your Excellency on the 26th of September. Since that time we have had letters from Mr. Adams, at Paris, on the 15th of July, and from Amsterdam on the 3d of August. They confirm what I wrote you last.

On Monday, the rear of the fleet that sailed from England with Admiral Digby arrived at Sandy Hook. It consists of thirty-four transports, under convoy of a ship of forty guns and three frigates. No more, it is said, are expected. This information I received late last night, from Mr. David Forman, of Freehold. Admiral Graves will, it is believed, make a second attempt to relieve Lord Cornwallis. He is making every preparation for that purpose, and it is thought will proceed for the Chesapeake immediately. It may be well to apprise Count de Grasse of this, without delay.

Sir Henry Clinton sent off three boats with despatches for Lord Cornwallis. One, named the *André*, carrying a brass six-pounder in her bow, eight blun-

derbusses, and twenty men armed with muskets, sailed on the 26th of September last; the second sailed on the 28th; and the third, on the 1st instant. We have taken the two last; and by means of a little address and a promise of pardon to a Tory, who was intrusted with one set of despatches, I found it was hid on the beach where he was taken. I have procured three gentlemen of ingenuity and fidelity to proceed to Little Egg Harbour with the fellow, in quest of it. The beach is so extensive, and so many places like each other, that it is not yet found, though the man is believed to be perfectly sincere in his wishes to recover it. The gentlemen went from this on Sunday, and I expect their return tomorrow. You shall know the result as soon as they arrive. In the mean time, the boat which first sailed should be looked for by the fleet. I have written to the Presidents of Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland to watch for her.

We shall be obliged to complete Colonel Armand's legion, and I despair of doing it with Americans, if all the Field-Officers are French gentlemen. There is now a vacancy, by the resignation of the Major; and if the Colonel would approve of Captain Allen McLean, who is now on half-pay, to be his Major, it would save the half-pay, oblige a very deserving officer, be a means of speedily filling his corps, and greatly tend to the public benefit. I should be happy if you and the Colonel were of this opinion.

Captain Gilland is said to be arrived in the frigate Charlestown in Casco Bay. He has clothing, &c., for Congress, to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling and upwards, and I believe a million and a half of livres. It is a fortunate arrival, and I sincerely congratulate you upon it; for I now flatter

myself your army will be well clothed and paid in future.

The express delivered your favor of the 1st instant only last night; it shall be laid before Congress this morning. I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
THOMAS McKEAN.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Chantilly, 12 October, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor of addressing you last, by my eldest son, who went to camp about four weeks ago. Since that, we have had the pleasure of hearing that your advances against York go successfully on. By this time, I hope his Lordship begins seriously to repent the Quixote part that he has been acting in America. Surely the rage of despotism must be cooled by the total defeat of those great hopes, which have been entertained of southern conquest; though really, in all the outrages of passion that history presents, we see nothing equal to the tyrannous and senseless rancor of the British King and counsels against America.

This disposition may continue a hopeless, ruinous war. I see that Arnold, in the true spirit of apostasy, is burning and wasting his native country. The malice of that man, his wickedness, and his avarice, render him a fit instrument for such employers. His former success in this State, his restless search after gain, however obtained, and the general languor that will be found here after the present exertions are

over, will most likely be persuasives with General Clinton and himself, to cause the coming of this unprincipled person, with his fifteen hundred or two thousand plunderers, to Virginia, when the fleet and army shall be gone. The learned and judicious Polybius was of opinion, that the principal inducing motive of Alexander the Great for invading Persia, was the little resistance that the ten thousand Grecians met with in passing through that great empire. Weakness, joined with the possession of property, are certainly strong temptations to ambitious, avaricious men.

How best to prevent Richmond from experiencing, in November, the same disgraceful visit that it did in January, your wisdom can best determine. Perhaps two strong frigates, under protection of a small and well-fortified garrison, at the town of York, with General Spotswood's and Colonel Mead's legion, made complete by the addition of some regular soldiers, might operate to discourage such attempts, with the force that can be prudently spared from the garrisons of New York and Charleston; or, if attempted, might be able, with militia aid, to repel the invaders.

It is not easy to conceive the distress and injury that have been derived to this State from the number of piratical plunderers, that have infested the shores of this country since our galleys were laid down; and such have been the success and benefit attending this wicked practice, that we hear of small crews forming to go plundering along the shores. In the actual state of our affairs, it will be long before we can build and fit vessels to stop these pernicious and disgraceful practices. But I should suppose, that our government might have credit enough to purchase, from among the captured armed vessels at York,

some ready-fitted, swift-sailing cruisers, for the purpose of scouring our Bay and rivers, and suppressing these piratical proceedings. If such a plan should meet your Excellency's approbation, your recommendation of it will secure its adoption. I know there will be difficulty in getting seamen. But, since the security of our country renders marine defence indispensable, and since the single difficulty of getting seamen is far less than getting them and building and fitting vessels besides, it would seem prudent to get the vessels, and diligently apply at the ports of neighbouring States for a few good seamen, less than a third of which description, with the rest landmen, would well answer our purpose. I cannot help thinking that this method, aided by a well-conceived law for the speedy capital punishment of such offenders, would contribute to lessen greatly, if not to suppress, a practice extremely injurious to those who live near the water, and destructive to the commerce of the State.

We are anxiously waiting for the rejoicing time to come, when Lord Cornwallis and his people will be your prisoners. I am, dear Sir, with particular esteem,

Your affectionate and obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Camp before York, 16 October, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your Excellency having personally seen our dispositions, I shall only give you an account of what

passed in the execution. Colonel Gimat's battalion led the van, and was followed by that of Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the whole advanced corps. At the same time, a party of eighty men, under Colonel Laurens, turned the redoubt. I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the report I have received from Colonel Hamilton, whose well-known talents and gallantry were on this occasion most conspicuous and serviceable. Our obligation to him, to Colonel Gimat, to Colonel Laurens, and to each and all the officers and men, are above expression. Not one gun was fired; and the ardor of the troops did not give time for the sappers to derange the *abatis*; and, owing to the conduct of the Commanders and bravery of the men, the redoubt was stormed with an uncommon rapidity.

Colonel Barber's battalion, which was the first in the supporting column, being detached for the aid of the advance, arrived at the moment they were getting over the works, and executed their orders with the utmost alacrity. The Colonel was slightly wounded. The rest of the column, under Generals Muhlenberg and Hazen, advanced with admirable firmness and discipline. Colonel Vose's battalion displayed to the left, a part of the division successively dressing by him, whilst a kind of second line was forming columns in the rear. It adds greatly to the character of the troops, that, under the fire of the enemy, they displayed and took their ranks with perfect silence and order.

Give me leave particularly to mention Major Barber, Division Inspector, who distinguished himself, and received a wound from a cannon ball.

In making the arrangement for the support of the works we had reduced, I was happy to find General

Wayne and the Pennsylvanians so situated as to have given us, in case of need, the most effectual support. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
LAFAYETTE.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Camp, 23 October, 1781.

SIR,

Agreeably to your Excellency's orders on the 19th instant to me, to take possession of the enemy's public stores pertaining to my department, I went to York myself, with my storekeeper, and at the same time desired Colonel Dearborn to go to Gloucester with an assistant of the storekeeper, for the purpose of receiving the stores. At Gloucester the dragoon-horses, with their accoutrements, and the wagon-horses and wagons, were delivered up that day, and the whole committed by Colonel Dearborn to militia guards. The same evening the dragoon-horses were driven out of Gloucester, and delivered to the care of the Duke de Lauzun's legion; and, by the inclosed certificate and oath of Major Bayton, it appears that no exchanges were made between the receipt of those horses from the British, and the delivery of them to the Duke's legion.

On the 20th I sent over the superintendent of the horse-yard with a party of men, and a written order to take charge of the cavalry-horses; but Colonel Sheldon told my assistant, Mr. Mix, that they should retain the horses till there was an order from your Excellency to deliver them up. So the super-

intendent remained at Gloucester. During the 20th and 21st I had persons waiting at Gloucester to receive every species of property pertaining to my department, with a party of men for fatigue and guards. As soon as the prisoners left their tents on the 21st, Mr. Mix applied to the officer of the French guard, and told him his orders and business; but he refused to let him take a tent, unless he could produce an order from your Excellency, Count Rochambeau, or General Choisy. The time would not admit of an application to either. Night came on, and the tents were chiefly stolen. In two hours, the persons I had assigned for that service would have had them in store. Early that morning I sent Mr. Mix with a note to head-quarters, mentioning the embarrassments given me by the French and militia guards. But your Excellency was gone to the fleet; though Mr. Trumbull said you had previously written to General Choisy on the subject.

Colonel Dearborn informs me, that a large proportion of the public stores thus lost (tents particularly) were taken away by the soldiers and women in the British hospitals; so that of one hundred and ten new tents returned in the eightieth regiment, only four or five were left. This information he received from the Quarter-master to that regiment. Some French soldiers were yesterday found there, loading two boats with tents. Colonel Dearborn's coming probably prevented their completing their design; but, in defiance of him, they carried off what they had got.

The French have placed safeguards over the houses at Gloucester, where the British officers are quartered; so that no American officer on duty there can obtain any shelter, unless in the vilest hovels. I conceive it to be absolutely necessary that these, and the French

guards over the stores, be removed, as well as the guards of militia; their places to be supplied, as far as shall be found necessary, by Continental troops.

I request to be favored with your Excellency's directions, respecting the public stores and tents carried off by the people in the British hospital. Colonel Dearborn will present this, and explain more circumstantially the proceedings at Gloucester. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, High Hills of Santee, 25 October, 1781.

SIR,

My last letter was dated at Charlotte, and forwarded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lee; since which I have received your Excellency's favor of the 28th of September. I am happy to find the army under your command ready to commence operations against Lord Cornwallis; but I am sorry to hear you think the issue somewhat doubtful. And it gives me great pain to find, that, whatever may be our success in Virginia, the circumstances of our ally will not permit them to coöperate with us in an attempt upon Charleston. The great importance of their present services demands our warmest gratitude; but it is much to be regretted, that we cannot improve the advantage which our signal success would give us, as the hopes of our people, and the fears of the enemy, would greatly facilitate the reduction of Charleston. However, if you succeed in Virginia, it will enable you to support us more effectually here, if these

States derive no other advantage from the present exertions of our allies. I will not suffer myself to doubt of your success, though I cannot help, at times, being greatly agitated between hope and fear, which alternately prevail, from the many incidents that occur in military operations, which may defeat the most flattering prospects; and I find, by letters from Congress, as well as from your Excellency, that Sir Henry Clinton is making the most rapid preparations for some important blow.

I mentioned, in one of my former letters, that I had been concerting with Governor Burke a plan for the reduction of Wilmington. General Rutherford is moving down towards that place with a considerable body of militia; and I hear the enemy have left the place, and now occupy Brunswick, about thirty miles below; and, by preparations making in Charleston of small transports, I think it highly probable the enemy intend to take off the garrison. But this is only conjecture.

Since the battle of Eutaw, our troops have been exceedingly sickly, and our distress and difficulties have been not a little increased for want of medicines and hospital stores. The malignity of the fevers begins to cease as the weather grows cool. The enemy are all in the lower country; and nothing material has happened since my last, except a number of prisoners who have been taken by our light parties sent out by General Marion.

Inclosed, I send your Excellency a return of our strength, by which you will see our weak state. We can attempt nothing further, except in the partisan way. Some riflemen have arrived in camp from the mountains; more are expected, which will enable us to keep up pretty strong parties for a time. But I

look forward with pain to December, when the whole Virginia line will leave us. I hope measures will be taken before that period to reënforce us. To arrive here seasonably, they must move soon. Colonel Lee and Captain Pierce, I hope, have given you a full state of matters in this quarter, to enable you to take your measures without loss of time.

I transmitted, by Captain Pierce, copies of all the letters and papers that had passed respecting Colonel Hayne's execution, mentioned in some of my former letters; and, as I had not paper to copy them for your Excellency, I desired Captain Pierce to break the covers on his arrival at your camp, to give you an opportunity to see them, and inform yourself respecting the matter, as the business, in its consequences, might involve the whole Continent, and particularly the military part; and, therefore, would ultimately rest with you. Should he have omitted this matter, of which I gave him a particular charge, I will forward you copies by the first opportunity. I wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the subject, but have not got his answer.

You have my warmest wishes for your success, and my hearty prayers for your safety. With sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem, I am

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN.

Camp, near York, 26 October, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

As Count de Grasse cannot aid us in our most favorite object, an expedition against Charleston, and

if an attempt to reduce it is now made, it must be independent of a marine force; and as your Excellency has asked my sentiments on the propriety or impropriety of attempting it under these circumstances, I do, on the fullest reflection, give it as my opinion that it may not be done with a rational hope of success, and beg leave to subjoin the following reasons, on which I have founded my judgment.

First. If we have no ships of force to cover us, and to possess the harbour, we shall be reduced entirely to a land operation, and must regularly approach the works of the town, in doing which, we must contend with a heavy train of artillery. This will make it necessary for us to carry forward one equal, at least, which, together with the necessary stores for a siege, if I may judge by the quantity brought here, and by what was used by the enemy in the reduction of the place, will exceed, upon a moderate computation, twenty-five hundred tons. Add to that the baggage of the army, the stores in the Quarter-master's, Commissary's, and Hospital departments, and the whole will not be less than three thousand tons, to transport which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to provide teams.

Secondly. As we must travel through a barren and a thinly inhabited country, where forage cannot be obtained but at a great distance, to remove which it would require a large additional number of teams (as three thousand bushels of corn will be necessary for each day's consumption, besides fodder), this also would be too great a demand for the country to bear, with others which would be increased by so large an army being in it.

The removing such a force, with the necessaries for a siege, through an extent of country of four or five

hundred miles, cut by many navigable rivers, unprovided with suitable boats for speedy transportation, would cause so great a delay as to shade, at least, every hope of success; and especially if the harbour of Charleston should remain open, during that time, for the reception of such supplies and reënforcements as should be thought necessary by the enemy to baffle our attempt.

Other reasons might be added, such as the ease with which the enemy might shift their situation, should they find it necessary; the impossibility of bringing off the artillery and stores, should the expedition fail; for a sufficiency of horses for this and other necessary purposes of the army could not be supplied. But I am confident I need not proceed.

If the siege of Charleston should not be attempted this winter, the troops south of the Delaware will be such a reënforcement to General Greene as will put it in his power, with the present force of the enemy, to cover the country, and reduce the British to the lines of the town. The other troops will be refreshed by going northward to their winter-quarters, which will also cover that part of the country. By the French remaining in this State, they will hold a position convenient to give aid, either north or south, as circumstances shall demand. I have the honor to be, my dear General, with every sentiment of esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM COLONEL TILGHMAN.

Philadelphia, 27 October, 1781.

SIR,

I arrived at this place early on Wednesday morning, although I lost one whole night's run by the stupidity of the skipper, who got over upon the Tangier Shoals, and was a whole day crossing, in a calm, from Annapolis to Rock Hall. The wind left me entirely on Sunday evening, thirty miles below Annapolis. I found that a letter from Count de Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress, in which the Count informed the Governor that Cornwallis had then surrendered. This made me the more anxious to reach Philadelphia, as I knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving despatches from you. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for some really began to doubt the matter. The fatigue of the journey brought back my intermittent fever, with which I have been confined almost ever since I came to town.

A Committee, consisting of Mr. Randolph, Mr. Carroll, and Mr. Boudinot, were appointed to inquire of me the several matters of a particular kind, which were not included in your despatches. They not only went into these, but into the motives which led to the several articles of the capitulation. And I have the pleasure to inform you, that they were perfectly satisfied with the propriety and expediency of every step which was taken; and so, indeed, were the whole body of Congress, except the South Carolinians, whose animosities carry them to that length, that they think no treatment could have been too severe for the garrison, the officers, and Lord Cornwallis in particular.

One of them, whose name I will mention when I have the pleasure of meeting your Excellency, made a motion that the officers should be detained until the further order of Congress. This was unanimously rejected, as an affront upon you, a violation of the capitulation, a violation of our national honor, and that of our ally, whose Admiral and General were parties. Upon the whole, Sir, you may be assured that the capitulation is considered by every unbiased person, both in and out of Congress, as highly honorable to the arms, and beneficial to the interests, of both nations.

I shall set out, as soon as I am well enough to ride, to Chestertown, at which place I propose waiting until I hear the route which your Excellency intends to take. You will, therefore, be good enough to let one of the gentlemen direct a line for me, to the care of Governor Lee, with a desire to send it immediately over to Rock Hall, where I will leave orders to have it forwarded to me. I can, by making use of this little interval, pay a short visit to my friends, and look into my private affairs, which much want my inspection.

Whenever I am acquainted with your determination, I shall, without delay, join you. I am too much attached, by duty and affection, to remain a moment behind, when I think my presence can render any service or assistance to your Excellency. I beg you to be assured that I am, with the utmost sincerity, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

TENCH TILGHMAN.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

State of Connecticut, Lebanon, 6 November, 1781.

SIR,

The very interesting and important news of the surrender of General Lord Cornwallis, with the British army, shipping, &c., &c., under his command, reached me on the 26th ultimo by a vessel from the Chesapeake to Rhode Island; and the full confirmation, a few days since by a letter from my son. My warmest and most sincere congratulations await your Excellency on an event so honorable and glorious to yourself, so interesting and happy to the United States;—an event, which cannot fail to strengthen the impressions of the European powers in favor of the great and good cause, in which you have so long and so successfully contended, and go far to convince the haughty King of Great Britain, that it is in vain to persevere in his cruel and infamous purpose of enslaving a people, who can boast of Generals and armies that neither fear to meet his veterans in the high places of the field, or pursue them to their strong-holds of security, and for whose help the arm of the Almighty has been made bare, and his salvation rendered gloriously conspicuous;—an event, which will hasten the wished-for happy period, when your Excellency may retire to and securely possess the sweets of domestic felicity and glorious rest from the toils of war, surrounded by the universal applauses of a free, grateful, and happy people.

The very important assistance and powerful coöperation afforded by the fleet and army of our illustrious ally, the King of France, demand the most grateful acknowledgments. The gallant and intrepid

conduct of the Commanders and Officers of both, has acquired them great glory, and entitles them and their army to the warmest thanks of America.

Your Excellency has been made acquainted with the destruction lately committed upon New London and Groton, by a considerable force of the enemy under the infamous traitor, whose name and memory should rot. A force much more considerable has been kept there since. They have done much to repair the injury done to the fortifications; and particularly that on Groton side, which entirely commands the town and harbour, is already in much better condition than before, and the work is still going on. And, as I take it for granted that part of the naval force of his most Christian Majesty will remain on the station through the winter, I would take leave to offer to the consideration of your Excellency, that they may be stationed at the port of New London, which I conceive would be attended with advantages superior, with respect to themselves and the country, to any place they could choose. The harbour is very sufficient to contain any number and size of ships; is peculiarly safe from the injuries of wind or storms. Its immediate connection with the main renders it accessible by the militia in case of need; and, adjoining to a country, through the favor of Providence at present abounding with every kind of provision they can want, will render their supplies much more easy and safe than at the Island where they last wintered, and where they received great part of their supplies by water from New London, exposed to loss and capture, and which actually did, and must always, happen in some instances.

I have very lately received a pressing request from his Excellency, the General of Martinico, for large

supplies of fresh beef from this State, for the use of the garrisons and hospitals there. I purpose to permit and encourage private adventures to furnish it, which must be shipped from that port. The lying of a fleet there would greatly secure and protect the coasts, for a considerable distance, against the armed vessels of the enemy, who will doubtless get knowledge of the design, and be engaged to intercept vessels with such cargoes. And, for their more effectual protection, I must also request a convoy of a frigate, armed sloop, or something adequate, for any number of vessels which may be ready to sail, and ask your Excellency's direction in that respect also; and on the assurance of which, I doubt not, a full and speedy supply might and would be afforded; and without it I fear it will fall short.

Permit me to add, in favor of the town which has so severely suffered, that a fleet stationed there would also afford relief and help to many of the distressed inhabitants, who have lost their all; and would be a protection to as much property, taken from the enemy, as perhaps is brought into any port standing in need of such protection.

On the whole, I submit these and other reasons, which will readily occur to your Excellency's wisdom and candor. With every sentiment of esteem and consideration, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,
JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.*

Philadelphia, 10 November, 1781.

SIR,

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a copy of an Act of Congress of the 7th instant, for your information and satisfaction. Your Excellency's letters of the 27th and 31st ultimo have been received, and laid before Congress.

As this is the first opportunity I have had of writing to your Excellency, since Congress were pleased to elect me to the singular honor of being their President, and as a literary correspondence, from our natural situations, becomes indispensably necessary between us, give me leave to assure you, Sir, that it will not only be a pleasure of a superior nature, but invariably my study, to render that correspondence as advantageous and agreeable as possible. Any intelligence worth communicating, which first reaches me, shall be related with unreserved freedom, candor, and punctuality. And permit me to hope for a similar treatment from your Excellency. Already my knowledge of your character leads me to anticipate infinite satisfaction.

I cannot avoid mentioning, that the present aspect of our public affairs is particularly pleasing; so much do we seem extricated from our perplexing difficulties, and such hope in the power and force of recent experience, that we shall not relapse into our former state of imbecility and distress.

The events of the present campaign will no doubt fill the most brilliant pages in the history of America.

* John Hanson, a Delegate from Maryland, was elected President of Congress on the 5th of November.

May heaven still continue to smile on our efforts!
With the highest sentiments of respect and esteem,
believe me to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN HANSON, *President.*

FROM GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN.

State of Vermont, Arlington, 14 November, 1781.

SIR,

The peculiar situation and circumstances, with which this State for several years last past has been attended, induce me to address your Excellency on a subject, which nearly concerns her interest, and may have its influence on the common cause of the States of America.

Placing the highest confidence in your Excellency's patriotism in the cause of liberty, and disposition to do equal right and justice to every part of America, who have by arms supported their rights against the lawless power of Great Britain, I herein transmit the measures by which this State has conducted her policy for the security of her frontiers; and, as the design and end of it were set on foot, and have ever since been prosecuted, on an honorable principle (as the consequences will fully evince), I do it with full confidence that your Excellency will not improve it to the disadvantage of this truly patriotic, suffering State; although the substance has already been communicated by Captain Ezra Heacock, employed by Major-General Lincoln, by your Excellency's particular direction, and who arrived here with the resolutions of Congress of the 7th day of August last, which appeared in some measure favorable to this State.

I then disclosed to him the measures this State had adopted for her security, which, I make no doubt, have by him been delivered to your Excellency; and though I do not hesitate that you are well satisfied of the real attachment of the Government of this State to the common cause, I esteem it nevertheless my duty to this State, and the common cause at large, to lay before your Excellency, in writing, the heretofore critical situation of this State, and the management of its policy, that it may operate in your Excellency's mind as a barrier against the clamorous aspersions of its numerous, and in many instances potent adversaries.

It is the misfortune of this State to join on the Province of Quebec and the waters of the Lake Chaplain, which affords an easy passage for the enemy to make a descent, with a formidable army, on its frontiers, and into the neighbourhood of the several States of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, who have severally laid claims in part, or in whole, to this State, and who have used every art which they could devise to divide her citizens, to set Congress against her, and finally to overturn the Government, and share its territory among them. The repeated applications of this State to the Congress of the United States to be admitted into the Federal Union with them, upon the liberal principles of paying a just proportion of the expenses of the war with Great Britain, have been rejected, and resolutions passed *ex parte* tending to create schisms in the State, and thereby embarrass its efforts in raising men and money for the defence of her frontiers, and discountenancing the very existence of the State. Every article belonging to the United States, even to pickaxes and spades, has been, by Continental Commissaries, order-

ed out of this State, at a time when she was erecting a line of forts on her frontiers. At the same time, the State of New York evacuated the post of Skenesborough, for the avowed purpose of exposing this State to the ravages of the common enemy.

The British officers in New York, being acquainted with the public disputes between this and the claiming States, and between Congress and this State, made overtures to General Allen in a letter, projecting that Vermont should be a Colony under the Crown of England, endeavouring, at the same time, to draw the people of Vermont into their interest. The same day General Allen received this letter (which was in August, 1780), he laid it before me and my Council, who, under the critical circumstances of the State, advised that no answer, either oral or written, should be returned, and that the letter should be safely deposited till further consideration, to which General Allen consented. A few months after, he received a second letter from the enemy, and the same Council advised that General Allen should send both letters to Congress, inclosed in a letter under his signature; which he did, in hopes that Congress would admit Vermont into the Union; but they had not the desired effect.

In the fall of the year, 1780, the British made a descent up the Lake Champlain, and captured the Forts George and Anne, and appeared in force on the Lake. This occasioned the militia of this State, most generally, to go forth to defend it. Thus the militia were encamped against the enemy near six weeks, when General Allen received a flag from them, with an answer to my letter dated the preceding July to General Haldimand, on the subject of an exchange of prisoners. This flag delivered a letter to General

Allen from the Commanding Officer of the enemy, who were then at Crown Point, with proposals for a truce with the State of Vermont, during the negotiating the exchange of prisoners. General Allen sent back a flag of his to the Commanding Officer of the British, agreeing to the truce, provided he would extend the same to the frontier posts of the State of New York; which was complied with, and a truce took place, which lasted about three weeks. It was chiefly owing to the military prowess of the militia of this State, and the including the State of New York in the truce, that Albany and Schenectady did not fall a sacrifice to the ambition of the enemy that campaign.

Previous to the retiring of the enemy into winter-quarters, Colonel Allen and Major Fay were commissioned to negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners. They proceeded so far as to treat with the British Commissioners on the subject of their mission, during which time they were interchangeably entertained with politics, which they treated in an affable manner, as I have been told. But no cartel was settled, and the campaign ended without the effusion of blood.

The Cabinet Council, in the course of the succeeding winter, finding that the enemy in Canada were about seven thousand strong, and that Vermont must needs be their object the ensuing campaign, circular letters were therefore sent from the Supreme Executive Authority of this State, to the claiming States before mentioned, demanding of them to relinquish their claims to this State, and inviting them to join in a solid Union and Confederation against the common enemy. Letters were also sent to your Excellency, and to the States of Connecticut and Rhode

Island. Each of these letters stated the extreme circumstances of this State, and implored their aid and alliance, giving them withal to understand, that it was out of the power of this State to lay in magazines, and support a body of men, sufficient to defend this State against the force of the enemy. But to those letters there has been no manner of answer returned.

From all which it appeared, that this State was devoted to destruction by the sword of the common enemy. It appeared to be the more unjustifiable, that the State of Vermont should be thus forsook, inasmuch as her citizens struck the first offensive blow against British usurpation, by putting the Continent in possession of Ticonderoga, and more than two hundred pieces of cannon; with Crown Point, St. John's, and all Lake Champlain; their exertions in defeating General Carleton in his attempts to raise the siege of St. John's; their assisting in penetrating Canada; their valor in the battles of Hubbardton, Bennington, and at the Landing, near Ticonderoga; assisting in the capture of General Burgoyne; and by being the principal barrier against the power of the enemy in Canada ever since.

That the citizens of this State have by nature an equal right to liberty and independency, with the citizens of America in general, cannot be disputed. And that they have merited it from the United States, by their exertions with them in bringing about the present glorious Revolution, is as evident a truth as any other, which respects the acquired right of any community.

Generosity, merit, and gratitude, all conspire in vindicating the independence of Vermont. But notwithstanding the arguments, which have been exhi-

bited in sundry pamphlets in favor of Vermont, and which have been abundantly satisfactory to the impartial part of mankind, it has been in the power of her external enemies to deprive her of union, confederation, or any equal advantage, in defending themselves against the common enemy.

The winter was thus spent in fruitless attempts to form alliances, but no advantages were procured in favor of this State, except that Massachusetts withdrew her claim, on condition that the United States would concede the independence of Vermont; but that, if they would not, they would have their snack at the south end of its territory. Still New York and New Hampshire were strenuously opposed to the independence of Vermont; and every stratagem in their power, to divide and subdivide her citizens, were exerted, imagining that their influence in Congress, and the certain destruction, as they supposed, of the inhabitants of this State by the common enemy, could not fail of finally accomplishing their wishes.

In this juncture of affairs, the Cabinet of Vermont projected the extension of their claim of jurisdiction upon the States of New Hampshire and New York, as well to quiet some of their own internal divisions occasioned by the machinations of those two governments, as to make them experience the evils of intestine broils, and strengthen this State against insult. The Legislature, accordingly, extended their jurisdiction to the eastward of Connecticut River to the old Mason line, and to the westward to Hudson's River; but, in the Articles of Union, referred the determination of the boundary lines of Vermont, and the respective claiming States, to the final decision of Congress, or such other tribunal as might be mutually agreed on by the contending Governments.

These were the principal political movements of the last winter.

The last campaign opening with a gloomy aspect to discerning citizens of this State, being destitute of adequate resources, and without any alliance, and from its local situation to Canada, obliged to encounter the whole force of that Province, or give up its claim to independence and run away, — Vermont, being thus driven to desperation by the injustice of those, who should have been her friends, was obliged to adopt policy in the room of power. And, on the 1st day of May last, Colonel Ira Allen was sent to Canada to further negotiate the business of the exchange of prisoners, who agreed on a time, place, and other particulars relating to the exchange. While he was transacting that business, he was treated with great politeness, and entertained with political matters, which necessity obliged him to humor, in that easy manner that might serve the interest of this State in its extreme critical situation, and that its consequences might not be injurious to the United States. The plan succeeded; the frontiers of this State were not invaded; and Lord George Germain's letter wrought upon Congress, and procured that from them, which the public virtue of this people could not.

In the month of July last, Major Joseph Fay was sent to the British shipping, on Lake Champlain, who completed an exchange of a number of prisoners, who were delivered at Skenesborough in September last; at which time and place Colonel Allen and Major Fay had a conference with the British Commissioners. And no damage, as yet, had accrued to this or the United States from this quarter. And, in the month of October last, the enemy appeared in force at Crown Point and Ticonderoga; but were manœuvred out of

their expedition, and are returned into winter-quarters in Canada, with great safety; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, "I will put my hook in their nose, and turn them back by the way which they came, and they shall not come into this city (alias, Vermont), saith the Lord."

It remains that I congratulate your Excellency, and participate with you in the joy of your capturing the haughty Cornwallis and his army; and assure your Excellency that there are no gentlemen in America who enjoy the glorious victory more than the gentlemen of this State, and him who has the honor to subscribe himself your Excellency's devoted and

Most humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, 21 November, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letters of the 16th, 24th, and 30th of October, containing an account of the operations of the combined army, afford me the highest satisfaction; and I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency again upon this important and happy event. I contemplate its advantages with infinite satisfaction, and feel a relief upon the occasion that is difficult to express. Count Rochambeau's stay in Virginia, and the march of General St. Clair, if he arrives speedily, I am in hopes will place us upon an eligible footing. The reduction of Charleston is an event much to be wished; but to be able to cover the country and confine the enemy to that place, will be a great object. However, I am not without my apprehensions

that Sir Henry Clinton will endeavour to push some vigorous operations in this quarter this winter, to efface, if possible, their late losses, both here and in Virginia. General Leslie is arrived to take command here, and it is said reënforcements are expected. I have sent one of my Aids to hasten the march of General St. Clair; and, as Wilmington is evacuated, there is nothing to prevent an immediate junction. After which, if the enemy's reënforcements are not very large, they shall purchase their advantages at an expensive rate.

I would have made a return immediately of the prisoners of war in this department, but Major Hyrne, the Commissary of Prisoners, has lately met with an unhappy fall, which has disqualified him for business by disordering his understanding, from which I am not a little apprehensive he will never recover. As soon as it can be done by another hand, it shall be forwarded. But, before a general exchange is gone fully into, I wish something decisive may be done respecting Colonel Hayne. As retaliation necessarily involves the whole Continent, I wish your Excellency's order, and the order of Congress, thereon. The latter have signified their approbation of the measures I took. But, as retaliation did not take place immediately, nor did I think myself at liberty on a matter of such magnitude, but from the most pressing necessity, and as the enemy did not repeat the offence, I have been at a loss how to act with respect to the original, not having any officer of equal rank with Colonel Hayne in my possession. I am ready to execute whatever may be thought advisable. It would be happy for America if something could be done to put a stop to the practice of burning, both in the Northern States and here also; and to

prevent it here, I wrote the enemy a letter on the subject, a copy of which I here inclose; and, if they do not desist, I will put the war on the footing I mention.

We are on our march for Four Holes. Colonel Mblark brought off upwards of eighty convalescent prisoners from one of the enemy's hospitals near Fair Lawn. These, and some small skirmishes of little consequence, and a few other prisoners, are all the changes which have taken place since my letters by Captain Pierce. I am happy that Wilmington is evacuated, as it leaves North Carolina perfectly at liberty to support this army and fill up their line. I am, with great respect and attachment,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

Taylor's Ferry, 26 November, 1781.

SIR,

On the 22d instant I arrived at Williamsborough, in North Carolina, to which place I had gone, in advance of the troops (leaving them to be conducted from Petersburg by General Wayne), in order to settle the route it would be proper to pursue, and take the necessary measures for provisions.

A report had prevailed for a day or two, that the enemy had evacuated Wilmington, and there I received such information respecting it as left no manner of doubt of the fact, which happened on the 14th instant; two large ships, which lay in the mouth of Cape Fear River, having taken the garrison on board, which no doubt are gone to Charleston. This circum-

stance leaves me at liberty to take the most direct way to join General Greene, which I shall do with as much expedition as possible, by Salisbury, Charlotte, and Camden, which, though not absolutely the nearest route, is nevertheless, from the best information I have been able to procure, much the easiest and most plentiful, and by following which, time will be gained. As the evacuation would have taken place at all events, it is fortunate for the troops that it happened so early, as they would have been exposed to much difficulty in a march through a very barren country, intersected by many rivers that are not fordable. Whether I should reckon it fortunate for myself or not, I am not so certain. But I am always satisfied with what produces any advantage to my country; and another State being freed from the power of the enemy, is a circumstance of no little importance, at this juncture. It has also freed me from an uneasiness that hung upon my mind, that I might probably find them so posted as not to have it in my power to dislodge them, and be reduced to the alternative of an uncertain assault, or that of leaving them unmolested.

Since I sat down to write, a letter has come to hand from Colonel Febiger, by which I am informed that I can expect no part of the Virginia troops, as they are not in a condition to be marched at present. It also contains the copy of a letter, or memorial, from the officers to him, on their being made acquainted with the orders I had sent for immediately marching to this place all the men that were equipped, which I take the liberty to inclose. It is too true that they have reason for complaint; but it pains me that they should take such means and such an occasion to express it; and I was much surprised

to see Colonel Posey's name to the memorial. I have written to Colonel Febiger, and taken no notice of the receipt of his letter, desiring him to halt the detachment I had ordered, until the whole can be got in readiness to march together, as it is now too late for them to join me, and, from a change of circumstances in North Carolina, not so necessary. With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

29 November, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Inclosed you will find some numbers, a copy of which I have kept, and which contain some names that may probably occur in our correspondence. I need not tell you, my dear General, that I shall be happy in giving you every intelligence in my power, and reminding you of the most affectionate friend you can ever have. The goodness you had to take upon yourself the communicating to the Virginia army the approbation of Congress, appears much better to me than my writing to the scattered parts of the body I had the honor to command. Give me leave, my dear General, to recall to your memory the peculiar situation of the troops, who, being already in Virginia, were deprived of the month's pay given to the others. Should it be possible to do something for them, it would give them great satisfaction.

I will have the honor to write to you from Boston, my dear General, and should be very sorry to think this is my last letter. Accept, however, once more,

the homage of the respect and of the affection that render me forever,

Your most obedient servant and tender friend,

LAFAYETTE.*

P. S. I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to George and the family. Will you be so kind, my dear General, as to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Morris?

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Fort Pitt, 2 December, 1781.

SIR,

At the time Congress directed me to repair to this

* Lafayette had asked permission of Congress to return to France; whereupon the following resolves were passed;—

“*Resolved*, That Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette have permission to go to France, and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him;

“That he be informed, that, on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry, and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merits and military talents;

“That he make known to the officers and troops, whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterprising services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far superior in numbers, have been beheld by Congress with particular satisfaction and approbation;

“That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs acquaint the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the desire of Congress that they confer with the Marquis de Lafayette, and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States;

“That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs further acquaint the Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, that he will conform to

place, I took for granted your Excellency would have information thereof through different channels; and knowing how very particularly you were at that moment engaged, I did not think proper to give unnecessary trouble. This, I flatter myself, will excuse me to your Excellency for not writing sooner. Previous to my arrival, Colonel Gibson had received your letter directing him to take the command, which was acquiesced in by Colonel Brodhead; and things went on in the usual channel, except that the dispute occasioned Colonel Gibson's intended expedition against Sandusky being laid aside, and perhaps it

the intention of Congress by consulting with and employing the assistance of the Marquis de Lafayette, in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his Most Christian Majesty for the use of the United States;

"That the Superintendent of Finance, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Board of War, make such communications to the Marquis de Lafayette, touching the affairs of their respective departments, as will best enable him to fulfil the purpose of the two resolutions immediately preceding;

"That the Superintendent of Finance take order for discharging the engagement entered into by the Marquis de Lafayette with the merchants of Baltimore, referred to in the act of the 24th of May last.

"*Ordered*, That the Superintendent of Finance furnish the Marquis de Lafayette with a proper conveyance to France;

"That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs report a letter to his Most Christian Majesty, to be sent by the Marquis de Lafayette."

When Lafayette was marching from the Head of Elk to Virginia, the citizens of Baltimore contributed very liberally to assist him in furnishing supplies of clothing to his troops. On the 24th of May, the following resolve, alluded to above, was passed;—

"*Resolved*, That Congress entertain a just sense of the patriotic and timely exertions of the merchants of Baltimore, who so generously supplied the Marquis de Lafayette with about two thousand guineas, to enable him to forward the detachment under his command;

"That the Marquis de Lafayette be assured that Congress will take proper measures to discharge the engagements he has entered into with the merchants."

See a letter from Lafayette, dated at Baltimore, April 18, 1781, in Washington's Writings, Vol. VIII. p. 513.

also prevented many other necessary arrangements. The examination of evidences, on the charges against Colonel Brodhead, are still taking, and I am informed will continue some weeks.

Agreeably to my orders from Congress, to retain no more officers here than sufficient for the men, I have made the following arrangements. Reformed the remains of the late eighth Pennsylvania regiment into two companies, and call them a detachment from the Pennsylvania line, to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard. Baron Steuben had some time ago directed Colonel Gibson to reform his regiment also into two companies, retaining with him the Staff of the regiment; and to send all the supernumerary officers down into Virginia. The reformation was so made; but the officers were so distressed, for want of clothing and other necessaries, that they were not able to proceed; however they are now making exertions, and I hope will soon set out. I have ordered the supernumerary officers of the Pennsylvania line to repair forthwith to their proper regiments in the line. The whole of the troops, here, are thrown into four companies. I have been trying to economize; but every thing is in so wretched a state, that there is very little in my power. I never saw troops cut so truly a deplorable, and at the same time despicable, a figure. Indeed, when I arrived, no man would believe, from their appearance, that they were soldiers; nay, it would be difficult to determine whether they were *white men*. Though they do not yet come up to my wishes, they are somewhat better.

As it does not rest with me to decide on the propriety or impropriety of any person's conduct, I shall only make a few general observations. The consumption of public stores has, in my opinion, been enor-

mous; particularly military stores. And I fear the reasons given for it will not be justifiable; namely, that the militia would all fly, if they had not powder and lead given them, not only when in service, but also to keep in their houses. It is true, the County Lieutenants, and others who are called responsible men, have promised to be accountable; but I am certain, that not an ounce can ever be again collected. I find, by the returns, that near two thousand pounds of powder, and four thousand pounds of lead, have been issued to the militia since the dispute commenced between Colonels Brodhead and Gibson, chiefly by orders of the former, beside arms, accoutrements, &c., and not a man called into actual service. The magazine is nearly exhausted. There is not now as much remaining as has been issued since the first of last September.

I presume your Excellency has been informed by the Governor of Virginia, or General Clark, of the failure of his expedition. But lest that should not be the case, I will relate all the particulars that have come to my knowledge. Captain Craig, with the detachment of artillery under him, returned here the 26th instant. He got up with much difficulty, and great fatigue to the men, being forty days on the way, occasioned by the lowness of the river. He was obliged to throw away his gun-carriages, but brought his pieces and best stores safe. He left General Clark at the Rapids; and says the General was not able to prosecute his intended plan of operation, for want of men, being able to collect, in the whole, only about seven hundred and fifty, and the buffalo meat was all rotten; and adds, the General is apprehensive of a visit from Detroit, and is not without fears the settlement will be obliged to

break up, unless reënforcements soon arrive from Virginia. The Indians have been so numerous in that country, that all the inhabitants have been obliged to keep close in forts, and the General could not venture out to fight them.

A Colonel Lochrey, Lieutenant of Westmoreland county, in Pennsylvania, with about one hundred men in all, composed of volunteers, and a company raised by Pennsylvania for the defence of said county, followed General Clark, who, 'tis said, ordered Lochrey to join him at the mouth of Miami, up which river it had previously been agreed on to proceed. But General Clark, having changed his plan, left a small party at Miami, with directions to Lochrey to proceed on to the Falls after him, with the main body. Sundry accounts agree that this party, and all Lochrey's, to a man, were waylaid by Indians and regulars (for it is asserted they had artillery), and all killed or taken. No man, however, escaped either to join General Clark or return home. When Captain Craig left the General, he could not be persuaded but that Lochrey with his party had returned home. These misfortunes throw the people of this country into the greatest consternation and almost despair, particularly Westmoreland county, Lochrey's party being all the best men of that frontier. At present they talk of flying early in spring to the eastern side of the mountain, and are daily flocking to me to inquire what support they may expect.

I think there is but too much reason to fear that General Clark's and Colonel Gibson's expeditions falling through, will greatly encourage the savages to fall on the country with double fury, or perhaps the British, from Detroit, to visit this post, which, instead of being in a tolerable state of defence, is in fact

nothing but a heap of ruins. I need not inform your Excellency that it is, at best, but a bad situation for defence. I have been viewing all the ground in this vicinity, and find none equal for a post to the mouth of Shirter's Creek, about four miles down the river. This was pointed out to me by Captain Hutchins before I left Philadelphia, who says there is no place equal to it anywhere within forty miles of Fort Pitt.

I think it best calculated on many accounts. First, the ground is such that works may be constructed to contain any number of men you please, from fifty to one thousand. It is by nature almost inaccessible on three sides, and on the fourth no commanding ground within three thousand yards. Secondly, as it would effectually cover the settlement on Shirter's Creek, the necessity of keeping a post at Fort McIntosh will of course cease. In case of making that the main post, Fort Pitt should be demolished, all except the north bastion, on which a strong block-house should be built. A small party in it would as effectually keep up the communication with the settlements on Monongahela, as the whole garrison now does; for the necessary detachments to Fort McIntosh, Wheeling, &c., so divide the troops, that no one place can ever be held without a large body of troops. Indeed, I do not like Fort McIntosh being kept a post in the present situation of things.

If the enemy from Detroit should take into their heads to make us a visit, that would be an excellent place for them to take by surprise; from whence they could send out Indians and other partisans to lay the whole country waste before we could dislodge them. We have (I think idly) too much of our stores there. I have been making efforts to bring

up the greater part; but, though it is almost incredible, yet 'tis true that, of all the public boats built here, not a single one was there to be found when I came here, except one barge and one flat. I expect two boats up, loaded, this day. It is, I believe, universally agreed that the only way to keep Indians from harassing the country, is to visit them. But we find, by experience, that burning their empty towns has not the desired effect. They can soon build others. They must be followed up and beaten, or the British, whom they draw support from, totally driven out of their country.

I believe, if Detroit was demolished, it would be a good step towards giving some, at least temporary, ease to this country. It would take at least a whole summer to rebuild and establish themselves; for, though we should succeed in reducing Detroit, I do not think there is the smallest probability of our being able to hold it; it is too remote from supplies. I have been endeavouring to form some estimates; and, from such information as I can collect, I really think that the reduction of Detroit would not cost much more, nor take many more men than it will take to cover and protect the country by acting on the defensive. If I am well informed, it would take seven or eight hundred regular troops, and about a thousand militia; which number could pretty easily be obtained for that purpose, as it appears to be a favorite scheme over all this country. The principal difficulty would be to get provision and stores transported. As to taking a heavy train of artillery, I fear it would not only be impracticable, but an incumbrance; two field-pieces, some howitz, and perhaps a mortar. I do not think, especially under present circumstances, that it would be possible to carry on

an expedition in such a manner as to promise success by a regular siege. I would therefore propose to make every appearance of sitting down before the place, as if to reduce it by regular approaches; as soon as I found the enemy fully impressed with this idea, attempt it at once by assault.

I mean to write Congress for leave to go down the country in January, to return in March, if they make a point I should continue here. I can scarcely think they will wish me to remain with four companies of men. The power of calling out the militia of this country, is more ideal than real, especially till the lines between Virginia and Pennsylvania are determined, and actually run. Neither civil nor military law will take place till then. Whether I am to be continued here or not, I am pretty certain it might be of use for me to go down, in order the better to concert measures proper to be taken, either with your Excellency or Congress; for, as matters now stand, it is clear to me this country must be given up. The militia, however, promise pretty fair, and I have had no ground for differing with them yet. There is no provision laid in, nor is there even sufficient from day to day. The contract made by Mr. Morris for supplying this post, has not been fulfilled on the part of the contractor in any tolerable degree; nor would the contract answer here, even if complied with. However, as I must write particularly to the Board of War on this subject, and have exceeded moderate bounds for a letter, I fear I have already tired, and taken up too much of your Excellency's time. I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

P. S. I have been told of three persons who were prisoners with the enemy, and have lately made their escape. I have sent in search of them, but could not find them out. The Lieutenant of Washington county has promised to bring one of them to me as soon as possible. If they have any material accounts, I shall inform your Excellency the earliest possible. They have come from different places, and I am told all agree that great preparations are making to attack this country, at several places, at the same time. Speaking of prisoners, leads me to beg your Excellency's opinion or instructions respecting an exchange in this quarter, or a negotiation carried on with the Commander at Detroit. I find numbers of poor people are taken in this district; some were taken at the commencement of the war, and are yet languishing in prison, in Canada, for they send all down to Quebec or Montreal. I cannot learn that any attempt has ever been made, on either side, to exchange them.

John Hynds and Myndat Fisher have both been confined here a whole year, and are under sentence of a Court-Martial. I request your Excellency's orders respecting them. I am informed the proceedings of the Court were sent to head-quarters a considerable time since.

W. I.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Alliance, off Boston, 21 December, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am sorry to think we are not yet gone, and there remain still some doubts of our going to-morrow. This delay I lament, not so much on private accounts, as I do on the account of our next campaign, in the planning of which your opinion, as I shall deliver it,

must be of the greatest use to the common cause. As to the department of Foreign Affairs, I shall be happy to justify the confidence of the Congress, by giving my opinion, to the best of my power, whenever it is asked for. But the affair of finances will, I fear, be a difficult point for the American Minister, in which, however, I shall be happy to help him with my utmost exertions. The moment I arrive in France, I will write to you minutely how things stand, and give you the best accounts in my power.

I have received every mark of affection in Boston, and am much attached to this town, to which I owe so many obligations; but, from public considerations, I have been impatient to leave it and go on board the frigate, where I receive all possible civilities, but where I had rather be under sail than at anchor.

I beg your pardon, my dear General, for giving you so much trouble in reading my scrawls; but we are going to sail, and my last adieu I must dedicate to my beloved General. Adieu, my dear General. I know your heart so well, that I am sure that no distance can alter your attachment to me. With the same candor, I assure you that my love, my respect, my gratitude for you, are above expression; that, at the moment of leaving you, I felt more than ever the strength of those friendly ties that forever bind me to you, and that I anticipate the pleasure, the most wished-for pleasure, to be again with you, and, by my zeal and services, to gratify the feelings of my respect and affection. Will you be pleased to present my compliments and respects to Mrs. Washington, and to remember me to General Knox and General Lincoln. Adieu, my dear General.

Your respectful and tender friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Albany, 15 January, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Agreeably to your Excellency's order in August last, Brigadier-General Clinton left me a guard of one sergeant, one corporal, and eleven privates, chiefly aged and infirm men. He has lately ordered these to be reduced to a corporal's guard. It is now a notorious fact, that three parties have been expressly sent from Canada to take or put me to death. Captain Brownson, lately returned from Canada, a Mr. Shephard, of Tryon county, a Mr. Mott of Saratoga, and others who have made communications to the Commissioners for detecting conspiracies, all agree, that the British are determined to get me into their possession. The imprudence of the Commissioners for detecting conspiracies, to whom, in order to save a person employed by me, I was under the necessity of communicating some secret matters, which have been divulged, has rendered the enemy's inveteracy still greater; and I am persuaded that, even with my former guard, I shall run some risk both in person and property, and that, without such a one, I must remove myself and family to a place of greater security. I have, therefore, to entreat your Excellency the favor of an order to General Clinton, to recomplete the guard, as he left it in August last.

Yesterday, I received advice that the people on the Grants had generally assembled in town meetings, had declared their apprehensions that a criminal intercourse prevailed between some of their people and the British, and determined on an examination of the conduct of the suspected persons; and had, by a great majority of the towns, voted that a relin-

quishment should be made of their late extended claim, both on the east and west. The latter part of this intelligence is this moment confirmed to me, in such a manner that I have not a doubt remaining of its truth; and I have reason to believe that the former part is not without foundation. With every wish, which affection and esteem can inspire,

I am, my dear Sir, your obedient servant,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 21 January, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Although you were pleased, on your leaving the State, to express a desire of hearing from me, I could not think myself justifiable in troubling your Excellency with a line during the campaign, when I was sensible every moment of your time must have been occupied in matters of the greatest moment, and more especially as my letters, in point of information, could have been little more than a repetition of what I was persuaded you must receive from the Commanding Officer of the department, whose attention, I was convinced, would lead him to make the earliest communications. I flatter myself that my silence will not be imputed to want of respect, and that your Excellency will believe, that no one was more anxiously concerned for your personal safety, and the success of your operations, than I was, or enjoys with greater pleasure the event so distinguishedly honorable to the allied arms.

Induced by the situation of a number of the citizens of this State, who had been captured on the

frontiers by ravaging parties of the enemy, and carried into Canada, I last spring addressed a line to Governor Haldiman, on the subject of their liberation. I have lately been favored with his answer; and as in it he has taken occasion to introduce his objection to the exchange of prisoners taken in arms, I conceive it my duty to transmit to your Excellency copies of this correspondence, which you will find inclosed, in hopes, while in Philadelphia, your Excellency may be able to have such measures adopted as will obviate the difficulties which stand in the way of the exchange of our friends in that quarter, many of whom have already suffered a long and rigorous confinement.

I lately transmitted to Congress two affidavits, proving a traitorous correspondence between the leaders on the New Hampshire Grants, and the enemy; and one of them, that an actual league of amity was settled between them; which, I presume, have been communicated to your Excellency. There are many other circumstances tending to establish the facts contained in those affidavits, which would be too tedious to relate. The well-affected in this State, and I believe I may venture to say in some of the neighbouring States, begin to be exceedingly alarmed at their conduct. Add to this, the violent and oppressive measures pursued by them against some of the most respectable citizens, to support their late extension of jurisdiction, will, I am persuaded, before the opening of spring, occasion our having recourse to arms to oppose their usurpations. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, St. Paul's Parish, 24 January, 1782.

SIR,

Since I wrote your Excellency on the 9th of December, I have been favored with your despatches of the 16th of November, 15th and 19th of December. My letter to Congress, a copy of which I inclose, will inform your Excellency of the arrival of General St. Clair, with the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops. The Virginia officers protested against marching until they got their pay, and are still in Virginia. Your Excellency's apprehensions were very right respecting the diminution of General St. Clair's command. The Virginia line left us at the same time the other came up, which leaves us little stronger than we were before. Some reënforcements have arrived lately from York; it is said, near four hundred men.

Through a good channel of intelligence I got information of troops expected, both from Cork and New York. I was so alarmed at it, that I sent off Captain Ragsdale to Virginia, and Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart to North Carolina, to try to hasten on support, and wrote to Count Rochambeau for a thousand men of his command. But, if more convenient, and consistent with the plan you and he had concerted, it would be still more agreeable for him to move with his whole force this way. Since I sent off those despatches, the Cork fleet arrived, without troops, except about sixty artillerymen. I am still under great apprehension of troops coming from New York, notwithstanding the flattering accounts your Excellency gave me. We are in a poor situation to contend with

a very superior force. Our men are almost naked for want of overalls and shirts, and the greater part of the army barefoot. We have no rum, or prospect of any; none within four hundred miles of us, and little or none providing in Virginia; and if there were ever so much there, the difficulty of transportation would prevent our getting it, as we were four weeks without ammunition since we have been in the lower country, and a plenty of this article waiting at Charlotte for the means of transportation. Had the enemy got knowledge, and availed themselves of our situation, they might have ruined us.

I shall, agreeably to your Excellency's direction, transmit to the respective States an exact return of their troops; and I wish your representation may have the desired effect. But the States here have been so tardy as to regard representations little more than an idle dream or Eastern tale. Nor have I the least hopes of our difficulties lessening upon this head, until the powers of Congress are more extensive, and the subordination of the States better acknowledged. When any State can be made to feel an inconvenience from disobeying a requisition of Congress, then, and not till then, can we hope our measures will have vigor, and a combination of our force take place. We may write till we are blind, and the local policy of the States in perfect security, will counteract our wishes. From this very same source, I apprehend it impossible to establish matters of finance upon such a footing as to answer the public demands. If such of the States as refused or neglected to comply with the Congressional requisitions, were deprived of the liberty of trade, either foreign or domestic, out of their own State, it might serve to fix a little obligation to effect a compliance.

I perfectly agree with your Excellency, that we should improve every moment this winter, to be in readiness to open the campaign to advantage. To be well prepared for war, is certainly the most likely way of procuring peace. I have recommended to this State to raise some black regiments. To fill up their regiments with whites is impracticable, and to get reënforcements from the northward, precarious, and at least difficult, from the prejudices respecting the climate. Some are for it, but the far greater part of the people are opposed to it. The Assembly are now sitting at Jacksonborough, four miles from our camp, on the other side of the Edisto. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM ROBERT MORRIS.

Office of Finance, 26 January, 1782.

SIR,

I take this earliest opportunity of acknowledging your Excellency's letter of the 25th, which I received last evening, and in which you request me to have ready my letters to the officers you are sending to the Eastern States, so as that they may go by the next post. I would willingly comply with your Excellency's desire most literally, but I have rather wished to transmit my sentiments to you, that you may send them to the gentlemen, either in the whole or in part, as you shall think proper, and with such observations as may occur to you.

Recruiting the army is certainly of importance, and ought therefore to be urged upon the several

States ; but, should it be necessary to expend money for that purpose, it must not be considered as a part of the quota called for by Congress for the service of the current year. I shall make an application on this subject to Congress, and endeavour to have certain principles established, by which those States who exert themselves to bring their quota of troops early into the field may have full justice done them, and those States which are negligent be charged in proportion to that negligence. I mention these things, Sir, to obviate mistakes, which might be productive of very evil consequences. You who, being on the spot, and knowing my situation and arrangements, are better informed than any person how necessary it is that the money called for from the several States be punctually paid, without any deduction whatever; you are, I am sure, convinced, that if my measures are obstructed, your own designs must prove abortive. And therefore you will, I am persuaded, take care to prevent an application of those funds to the recruiting service, which are necessary to the support and operation of those who are already enlisted. But as it may obviate those doubts, which are too apt to start in the minds of such gentlemen as compose the respective Legislatures, I repeat to your Excellency my assurance, that I will exert myself to have full justice done to those States who may bring their proportion of men into the field at an early period.

Should you send officers who are now with the army, I expect that they will be able to give full information, from what they have seen of the benefits which result from the present mode of administration ; and I am sure that you are fully convinced of the superior cheapness with which supplies are obtained from what they were formerly. In order, then, that the

army may be well and cheaply maintained, it is necessary that the States grant money.

In considering the situation of the army, and comparing the wants with the means of satisfying them, it became necessary for me to arrange those wants so that the relief in my power might be properly extended. Feeding the army appeared to be an object of the first necessity; clothing them was almost, if not altogether, as indispensable. After feeding and clothing them, the equipment for service demands attention, under which head must be classed the arms, ammunition, military stores, tents, camp equipage, and, in short, the whole of the Quarter-master's department. To the equipment for service succeeds the attention which is to be paid to the sick and wounded, an object in which justice and humanity combine most forcibly together. The pay of the army must, of necessity, be placed last in this list; but though last, it is by no means least, in my mode of contemplating it. Your Excellency knows so well my solicitude on this subject, that it is unnecessary to mention it here. But I should ill deserve the high trust reposed in me, if I permitted any consideration to divert me from that line which reason points out as my duty to walk in.

The officers you may employ on the present occasion, will, I am sure, be men of good sense and candor. They will, therefore, judge properly of my reasonings, and give them their due weight to others. I may, perhaps, have misarranged the wants of our army; but I think not. It is, however, proper to observe, that under the head of clothing I comprehend those means for clothing the officers, which I have now in contemplation, and had the honor of mentioning to your Excellency. If I am right in my ideas

as to what is the proper mode of applying the public money, then every prudent officer will, instead of urging the States to grant a little money for the purpose of paying them, urge the grant of so much as will support and equip the army, and still leave a sufficiency for the pay. To increase the means of payment by retrenching every other expenditure, is my constant object; to increase the means of payment by grant of money, the States alone are competent to. I hope, therefore, that the gentlemen you employ will join me in urging such grants, with all their force and abilities.

It is from the same conviction which you feel of the advantages which must result to our country from an early and vigorous campaign, that I have spent money and stretched my credit to the utmost extent which I dare, in order that you might take the field at an early hour, and in a respectable manner. I have confided in the States, and the consequences of being deceived will be such that it is better you should conceive than I describe them. If they do not grant the sums called for by Congress, I cannot give that aid to your operations which I know to be indispensably necessary. But if they do grant me those sums, I pledge myself to support you fully in all your views; and you shall then have the pleasure of seeing your brave troops as regularly paid as they are now fed;—and then, knowing them to be well appointed, and in all respects fit for service, you will be enabled to accomplish those plans for the defence and salvation of our country which lie nearest your heart. That this may be speedily the case, is the most fervent wish of your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Williamsburg, 5 February, 1782.

SIR,

The legion of Lauzun had begun to march, when very cold weather came on, and the ground was covered with snow six inches deep. As, by the intelligences I had from your Excellency, and those I got from the flag, it appears that the reënforcement from New York for Charleston does not exceed thirteen hundred men, I have not judged this rapid movement of the legion quite necessary, when, in these melted snows, all its equipments, both of horse and foot, would have been utterly spoiled; and therefore have ordered it into its quarters again, until the weather be milder. In the mean time, I hope I shall receive your Excellency's answer.

The news I had from New York by the flag are, that all the men-of-war under sixty-four are gone, a month since, to join Admiral Hood; that there remain only at New York the *Lion*, commanded by Digby, some fifty and forty-gun ships, and several frigates. That is quite sufficient to keep the *Romulus* in awe. They brag, likewise, at New York, of an immediate large reënforcement from Ireland, with the same particulars of two regiments of dismounted dragoons. Though I have not the least faith in it, I believe it would be necessary, before we come to any resolution, to know whether this storm will take its direction to the northward or towards the south. It is the same report which was spread in Charleston, and which has alarmed General Greene.

As your Excellency's answer might be long coming, by reason of the rivers being full of floating ice, and of our not having had any intercourse with the North-

ern States this fortnight past, I have resolved to send back to New York all the convalescents, which it will be possible to assemble, that they may be exchanged against our convalescents of the West India brigade, taken in the Bonetta. I believe it will be better for both to return among their countrymen, there to receive the assistance they stand in need of. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Philadelphia, 7 February, 1782.

SIR,

The present strength of the garrison at Fort Pitt is two hundred and thirty. At least thirty of these are unfit for field duty, and several, even garrison duty. From this number, detachments are made to garrison Forts McIntosh and Wheeling, the first distant thirty miles, the latter eighty. Fort Pitt is in a bad state for defence; Fort McIntosh, pretty easily repaired. If Fort Pitt were in the best state, the work is too extensive for less than a garrison of at least four hundred and fifty men, to make a tolerable defence. Fort McIntosh would take one hundred and fifty to defend it properly, and be able to send patrolling parties towards Wheeling.

Wheeling should have twenty-five or thirty men, and an equal number at some intermediate post. From Fort Pitt to the Laurel Hill, northwards, it would take two hundred men in actual service, from the first of April to the last of October, to guard that quarter from the incursions of the savages. By this arrange-

ment, it would take nine hundred and fifty men to act on the defensive the whole of the summer season. The number of militia in Washington county is said to be two thousand; in Westmoreland, one thousand. The inhabitants are dispirited, and talk much of making their escape early in the spring to the east side of the mountain, unless they see a prospect of support.

The Indians have all left us, except ten men; and, by the best accounts, are preparing to make a stroke in the spring, either against General Clark, at the Rapids, or on Fort Pitt; which, my informant could not with certainty say, but was positive one or the other was intended. I am apprehensive, from the steps taken by the Commandant at Detroit, that something serious is intended. First, thirteen nations of Indians have been treated with, in the beginning of November; at the conclusion, they were directed to keep themselves compact, and ready to assemble on short notice. Secondly, the Moravians are carried into captivity, and strictly watched, and threatened with severe punishment, if they should attempt to give us information of their movements. Thirdly, part of five nations are assembled at Sandusky. The Shawanese and Iowas have settled nearer Detroit than formerly. There is no magazine of provision laid in at any of our posts, to hold out a siege; ammunition exhausted; no craft to transport materials for repairing the fort, or to keep up a communication with Fort McIntosh or Wheeling, or to supply these posts with provision or stores, in case of exigence.

To carry on an expedition against Detroit would take two thousand men, to give a tolerable certainty of success; the time would be three months, and the best season to march from Fort Pitt, the 1st of Au-

gust. Then the waters are low; morasses, and soft, rich meadows dried up; by land totally, preferable to any part by water, the enemy having entire command of the lake with armed vessels; the navigation of rivers uncertain; besides, the number of boats, and waste of time, would make it more expensive than land carriage. Pack-horses to carry provision would be better and more certain than wagons; but, as a road must be cut for artillery, the ammunition and military stores would be transported with greater facility and more safety in wagons. One thousand horses would carry flour for two thousand men for three months. Beef must be driven on foot. Twenty-five wagons would carry military stores sufficient for the train, which should consist of two twelve-pounders, two sixes, one three-pounder, one eight-inch howitzer, and one royal.

At least one half should be regular troops. If it is necessary to keep half the number of troops to act on the defensive that it will to act offensively, and three months are sufficient to complete the expedition, then the only difference in the expense will be transportation of provision and stores; as acting on the defensive, seven months will be the least, and the same quantity of provision will be consumed, and ammunition wasted. If we act offensively, it will draw the whole attention of the enemy to their own defence, by which our settlements will have peace; and such of the militia, as do not go on the expedition, will have time to raise crops. On the contrary, continual alarms will keep them from these necessary duties. The garrison at Detroit is three hundred regular troops, the militia (Canadians), from seven hundred to one thousand; the number of Indians that could assemble in ten days' notice, to a certain point, about one thousand.

Query. Should we be able to take Detroit, shall we hold it? If not, what advantage will the bare reduction of the place be of, if immediately evacuated?

Answer. The reduction of Detroit, in the fall of the year, will prevent an intercourse with the Western Indians for a whole year, as it would be late in the succeeding summer before the British could reëstablish themselves, during which time we might either open a trade with such savages as would ask for peace, or, by frequently penetrating into, and establishing posts in their country, oblige them to retire to such a distance as would put it out of their power to harass the back inhabitants. It would be attended with great expense, and vast risk, to support a garrison at Detroit, as long as the British possess the lower part of Canada, and have the command of Lake Erie.

The present garrison is too weak to repair the fort, and perform other necessary duties; no cash to pay artificers; the troops in bad temper for want of pay; under very bad discipline; too long in one station, as they have formed such connections as make them tenacious of the rights of citizens, while they at the same time retain all the vices common to a soldiery. What is contained in the foregoing report, is all that occurs to my memory at present, necessary to trouble your Excellency with. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head Quarters, St. Paul's Parish, 7 February, 1782.

SIR,

Your Excellency's letter of the 29th of December, came to hand yesterday. The reënforcement you mention has not arrived, and I hope they are gone to another quarter. I got intelligence of the preparation making in New York, and of the opinion of their being destined to Charleston. But whether they went to some other quarter, or the small reënforcement mentioned in my last was what gave rise to the report, I am unable to say.

In your Excellency's instructions to correspond with Count Rochambeau, you did not tell me whether I was to request aid of him in cases of emergency. However, my apprehensions were so great, and the consequences appeared to me so fatal to this country, I made application, without hesitation; and I should be glad to know your mind on the subject, by which I shall govern my conduct in future. I see little prospect of getting any reënforcements from Virginia, as will appear by the Governor's letter. The State conceive themselves ill-treated, and, however groundless it may be, it will operate greatly to our prejudice for a time. Colonel Carrington is gone to Congress, to represent several matters, which claim immediate attention. I wish no disagreeable disputes may happen from the present uneasiness and discontent prevailing in Virginia, from a persuasion that the Northern States are treated with more delicacy than she is. I fear the Financier-General will have a hard task to steer clear of suspicions of partiality. Colonel Carrington will represent to your Excellency our

apprehensions of fixing the laboratory at Richmond, and our wishes for having it at New London.

Inclosed are the returns of the Pennsylvania line, agreeably to your Excellency's direction. Those of Maryland and Delaware are transmitted to the Governors of those States. That of Virginia shall be also sent, as soon as it can be had. The absence of Colonel White's regiment of dragoons in Georgia is the reason of its delay; however, the infantry of that State with this army amount to not more than sixty men. In a very few days I will have the honor of transmitting to you exact returns of the operating force serving under my command in the Southern department. I am, with the greatest regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 8 February, 1782.

SIR,

I am honored with your Excellency's letter of this date respecting the preparations to be made for the next campaign. The reason of my stay at the North River I mentioned in my letter from thence. As soon as I obtained the returns in that quarter, I came away. A general return is forming, which, from the multiplicity of articles, will be voluminous; but, as soon as possible, I will complete and lay it before your Excellency. In the mean time, I beg leave to submit to your consideration some things which need not wait the completion of the return, but on which, from their nature and capital importance, an early decision seems requisite.

On considering the mode most proper to be adopted in providing ox-teams for the ensuing campaign, the Secretary of War* and I were decidedly in favor of purchasing them. I have since formed the inclosed estimate, number One, showing the comparative expenses of hiring and purchasing the necessary number of ox-teams, in which your Excellency will see on what foundation our opinion rested. Tents being the most expensive and essential articles of camp equipage, I extracted from the returns, then in my hands, the numbers on which we might rely for the ensuing campaign. The Secretary of War, on a cursory view, supposed these numbers would be sufficient. The same extract, a copy of which, number Two, is inclosed, shows the state of the knapsacks, canteens, &c., at the times mentioned therein. On comparing this with my estimate of last year, I think nothing more needs be purchased, at least for the present, except knapsacks, canteens, and camp-kettles. I was apprehensive that the canteens at Boston, in September, might afterwards have been transported to Claverack, and they are an article so frequently lost and broken, I concluded with the Secretary of War, that six thousand more should be procured in Massachusetts, to be brought on by the teams raised for the army; and I sent orders accordingly to my deputy there by him.

Number Three, is a return of the public boats in the North River. On the back of it I have noted the number and species of private vessels on the same river, and the amount of their tonnage. But, as they have run during the winter, and been ill-prepared, probably not more than half of them will be fit for

* General Lincoln had been chosen Secretary of War, on the 30th of October.

service the ensuing season. I procured this information, as I thought it might be of use, if a question should arise, whether the gun-boats and other public vessels there should be repaired.

Number Four contains the terms on which Mr. Sheafe, the superintendent at Wappen's Creek, will perform the ship and boatwright's work therein mentioned. Number Five is an estimate of a company of artificers, which I apprehend will be necessary in the main army the ensuing campaign. Should the operations of the army in the State of New York require a greater number, I persuade myself it will be easy to engage them for the occasion. On the terms stated, I find the company can be raised. I left orders with the Commissary of Forage to form a magazine sufficient for the posts in the Highlands until the first of May, which, if the snow continues, I expect will be done. I have contracted with the smith at Newburg for all the smiths' work necessary for the main army during the next campaign, if I choose to continue the contract so long. Its continuance will, of course, depend on the aid which can be derived from the Superintendent of Finance. The terms are lower than any smiths in this city will engage on. It was the desire of the Secretary at War, that your Excellency's determination relative to the ox-teams, might be by me communicated to him before he should leave Massachusetts. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Jacksonburg, 12 February, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,

I have written a letter of this date to Congress, inclosing one to me from Mr. Moses Young, my father's secretary, by which it appears that our Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles had not, so late as the 28th of September, received official notice of the resolve of Congress for exchanging General Burgoyne.

I likewise inclosed a letter from General Cornwallis, in which he assures me that all his influence will be exerted to effect an exchange between him and my father, provided I transmit to him an official paper, authorizing it on the part of Congress. I claim your Excellency's promise to interest yourself in a business, in which I feel so many powerful public and private motives. Your Excellency's friendship becomes the more necessary, as I am informed that the exchange of Cornwallis has been represented in Congress as impolitic, at the present juncture, on account of his talents and influence. The former can excite no apprehension in my mind, while the American army continues under its present auspices. With regard to the latter, which some allege would extend to securing a reënforcement and a continuance of the war, it appears to me that the credit of no one individual would tempt the British Ministry, at the present period, to carry their views beyond a vigorous effort for the recovery of Georgia and South Carolina. This appears to me to be the best plan they can propose to themselves, and in the execution of it they must employ all their means, let who will

command their army. Their most sanguine hopes cannot lead them beyond a truce or a treaty upon the footing of *uti possidetis*, they retaining the two States above mentioned. As this object will require all the military exertions they can possibly make, and the aid of every political intrigue, I do not think one General Officer would bring out a larger reënforcement than another.

These being my sentiments, I apply with confidence to your Excellency, and beg leave to solicit, in the most earnest terms, your friendly attention to my father's circumstances. The continuance of a loathsome imprisonment, in which he is excluded from the converse or correspondence of his friends, and labors under every illiberal restriction that his mean-spirited, tyrannical persecutors can invent, may, at his advanced age, prove fatal. Considering the perseverance of the British Ministry in their absurd pretensions, it is probable that an exchange would be more readily effected under your immediate authority than by the intervention of Congress; and perhaps there are other officers, besides Cornwallis, whom the British would be glad to receive in exchange for my father.

I entreat your Excellency's pardon for troubling you with this tedious epistle; but my distress for a parent, whom I love almost to adoration, and your Excellency's goodness, will form an excuse for me. I beg your Excellency will accept the sincere and repeated assurances of veneration and attachment with which I am invariably, dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM GOVERNOR HARRISON.

Richmond, 15 February, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,

My sincerest thanks to you for your friendly congratulations on my promotion to the Government. Indeed, my friend, if you knew my true situation, and that of this country, you would rather condole with me. When I accepted the appointment, I knew I had innumerable difficulties to encounter; yet I undertook the task with the hope of surmounting them, not with a view of serving myself. For there is nothing to be got by it in the best of times; but in these, certain loss will attend it. I meant to serve the State, and the common cause. I had vanity enough to think I could do this better than those who were opposed to me. But my hopes and expectations are all blasted by the conduct of the Assembly. What powers there were in the Executive are done away, and restrictions substituted in their room. Much is required of me, and no means left of doing even little. The eyes of the world are fixed on me; it knows not my situation and embarrassments, and therefore expects much. When disappointment takes place, what reputation I had gained, I may say by a life of public services, will be lost; nay more, I shall be brought even into contempt. I feel this in every nerve; it tingles in every vein, and almost destroys the very faculty of thinking, whenever I begin to contemplate the subject.

As this is a melancholy theme, at least to me, I will quit it, but not before I tell you, however situated, I will not let despondency overwhelm me; but will endeavour to merit applause if I cannot attain it. The Assembly had risen long before your favor

got to hand, and they will not meet again till the first Monday in May next. My endeavours shall not be wanting to stimulate them to raise the men required by Congress. I think they may be had, with money and clothes. But as to the money demanded, assure yourself it is absolutely impossible; there is not half the sum in the State.

I have adopted a mode of my own to endeavour to procure men, by calling on the principal persons in each county to open a subscription for a sum to furnish the bounty, for which they are to have credit in their taxes, with an allowance of interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum for the time it shall be advanced. I expect some good from it, though, I confess, not a great deal. When I was in Philadelphia, I negotiated a loan to the State of a variety of clothing, &c., with the Chevalier Luzerne. The King of France has nobly complied with my request, and I expect we shall have them in three or four months. But, as the regulations of Congress now stand, if we put them on the backs of our soldiers, we are not to have credit for them out of the money demanded from us. This I think strange, and wish an alteration; but would not desire, by any means, that Congress should be made acquainted with the circumstances of the loan. I suppose I shall be told, if I deliver them to the Financier's order I shall get credit; but this I never can agree to, as, in that case, our poor fellows would never see them. I think they have not received any thing of the kind from the Continent since they went to the southward, as about three or four hundred of them returned, the other day, almost naked. This has so frequently been the case, that I am confident it is one great cause of the difficulty we find in raising men; for, when the

subject of clothes is mentioned to a young fellow, he instantly points out several that have returned almost naked.

How comes it about that I see contracts advertised for, to feed the troops from Boston to Maryland, inclusive, and no attempt of the sort made to the southward? Scan this matter, my friend, and tell me if there is not partiality in this. You may depend, if the same steps are not taken here that are taken in other States, it will create great disturbance. This Government has not the means of furnishing troops, and, therefore, must be assisted till it can. You will see, by the inclosed, the situation of the British sick in Gloucester. We have taken no step in it yet, nor can do any thing till we see the Continental Commissary. I expect he will tell us he has no means, and I am sure we have so little that much cannot be expected. I, from my heart, pity the poor fellows, and will do what I can for their relief. General Nelson's resignation was occasioned by ill health; at least this was the reason he gave, though I think this was not the only one. He met with very unmerited treatment in many instances. I am, my dear Sir, with every sentiment of esteem and friendship,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 23 February, 1782.

SIR,

I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's letter of the 21st, to the several directions in which I shall pay due attention. Yesterday I received a

letter from Major Clairborne, dated the 12th instant, informing me that the two expresses, stationed at Bowling Green, had left it some days for want of support. As Colonel Carrington had comprehended, in his estimate for Virginia, one charge for expresses, I have desired him to ask Mr. Morris for authority to engage actual payment, and then immediately to write Major Clairborne to replace and firmly fix the expresses, whom Colonel Carrington will pay on his return to Virginia. I will also apply for the Maryland district, and enable Mr. Yeates to keep his chain complete.

Your Excellency advised that the ox-teams should be assembled by the middle of May last year. I would request your direction for the present year on this head. The longer their assembling is delayed, consistent with the expected operations, the better, on account of the pasturage, which, by the middle of May, is hardly sufficient for the support of the cattle. It is of importance, too, to preserve, as long as possible, all the forage in the vicinity of the army. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Williamsburg, 27 February, 1782.

SIR,

I have received your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant, brought by Colonel Robert Dillon. The legion de Lauzun by this time must be arrived at Charlotte Court-House. It will be needful that it stay there some time, because the men are almost

quite naked, and I shall forward them their clothing which I expect from Boston, as well as that of all the army, as soon as possibly can be done after its arrival. In these circumstances, I have not thought fit to empower M. de Choisy to proceed further, because, on one part, I feared that the requests for that movement might not be absolutely necessary, and on the other part, I knew too well the ardor and desire of going forward, and to be detached from the main body, which is natural to our nation. I am here at hand to send them orders relative to the intelligence, which they will send me from General Greene's army, if the circumstances were so urgent as to render their march absolutely necessary. About eight days ago, several detachments of different southern regiments, amounting to five hundred men, marched towards that army. In a little excursion I made in the heart of the State, I have seen Colonel Armand's legion, at Charlottesville. It will be ready in a month, if sixty horses, which he expects from Philadelphia, arrive. If your Excellency does not hurry the assembling of the reënforcements, which this State is to furnish to General Greene's army, I think I ought to let you know, that the Assembly has broken up without resolving any thing, or furnishing the means of recruiting; so that it should seem, that Virginia, the present moment, looks on itself as in possession of peace.

The privateers are become very bold since the loss of the *Diligente*; some are entered the Bay. The *Sybill* is gone out to chase them. I presume that, before long, we shall receive from France a plan of next campaign. In that case, I think it would be very necessary that we should have a conference together. I am confident your Excellency would not

be against seeing Mount Vernon, your agreeable seat. If convenient, it should be our place of rendezvous, as the most suitable place.

I am very sensible to your Excellency's attention about the engraving of the field-pieces which you destine for me. I do not look upon them as very urgent to be delivered; and I think it would be most suitable to keep them at Philadelphia, whence Mr. Morris might send them to France when peace is made. They might be transported to Nantes, whence, by going up the river as far as Tours, I would get them carried to Rochambeau, which is only twelve leagues distant from that city. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

P. S. I think the Chevalier de la Luzerne must, by this time, be on the road to come here; if he is not, I beg you would tell him to have no uneasiness about the privateers, because M. de la Villebrune will take care to see him carried safely over.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

[Philadelphia, 1 March, 1782.]

SIR,

I need not observe to your Excellency, that respect for the opinion of Congress will not permit me to be indifferent to the impressions they may receive of my conduct. On this principle, though I do not think the subject of the inclosed letter of sufficient importance to request an official communication of it,

yet I should be happy it might in some way be known to the members of that honorable body.

Should they hereafter learn that, though retained on the list of their officers, I am not in the execution of the duties of my station, I wish them to be sensible that it is not a diminution of zeal which induces me voluntarily to withdraw my services, but that I only refrain from intruding them, when circumstances seem to have made them either not necessary or not desired, and that I shall not receive emoluments without performing the conditions to which they were annexed. I also wish them to be apprised upon what footing my future continuance in the army is placed, that they may judge how far it is expedient to permit it. I therefore take the liberty to request the favor of your Excellency to impart the knowledge of my situation in such manner as you think most convenient. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM COLONEL HAMILTON.

Philadelphia, 1 March, 1782.

SIR,

Your Excellency will, I am persuaded, readily admit the force of this sentiment, that though it is the duty of a good citizen to devote his services to the public, when it has occasion for them, he cannot, with propriety or delicacy to himself, obtrude them, when it either has, or appears to have, none. The difficulties I experienced last campaign in obtaining

a command, will not suffer me to make any further application on that head.

As I have many reasons to consider my being employed hereafter in a precarious light, the bare possibility of rendering an equivalent will not justify to my scruples the receiving any future emoluments from my commission. I therefore renounce, from this time, all claim to the compensations attached to my military station during the war, or after it. But I have motives which will not permit me to resolve on a total resignation. I sincerely hope a prosperous train of affairs may continue to make it no inconvenience to decline the services of persons whose zeal, in worse times, was found not altogether useless; but, as the most promising appearances are often reversed by unforeseen disasters, and as unfortunate events may again make the same zeal of some value, I am unwilling to put it out of my power to renew my exertions in the common cause in the line in which I have hitherto acted. I shall accordingly retain my rank while I am permitted to do it, and take this opportunity to declare, that I shall be at all times [ready] to obey the call of the public, in any capacity, civil or military (consistent with what I owe to myself), in which there may be a prospect of my contributing to the final attainment of the object for which I embarked in the service. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ponpon, 9 March, 1782.

SIR,

I wrote your Excellency the 8th of February, since which I am without your favors. In my last, I informed you that I had written to Count Rochambeau for reënforcements. Inclosed is his answer. I am persuaded he must have mistaken your intentions. I find nothing is to be expected from that quarter. I am sorry the legion was put in motion, as it may raise the enemy's apprehensions, and bring upon us reënforcements, which might not have been otherwise sent, at least so soon.

Your Excellency will see by the King's speech, and other measures taking in Great Britain, the enemy are determined to prosecute the war; and from the Dean of Gloucester's plan of pacification, and other Parliamentary debates, there can hardly be a doubt of the operations being principally to the southward. You will also see, by the returns inclosed, how incompetent our force is to any great operation. The country is naturally weak, and greatly reduced by the ravages of intestine disputes between the Whigs and Tories. We are remote from support and supplies of every kind; no large bodies of militia can be hastily called together here, nor can supplies of any kind be had but with the greatest difficulty. We have three hundred men now without arms, and twice that number so naked as to be unfit for any duty, but in cases of desperation. Not a rag of clothing has arrived to us this winter. Indeed, our prospects are really deplorable. It is true we get meat and rice, but no rum or spirits. Men and officers without pay,

in this situation, cannot be kept in temper long. I will not trouble you with a detail of all our difficulties. They would be too troublesome to enumerate; but I cannot but apprehend for a country so badly supported, and naturally so weak and helpless. I persuaded the Legislature to raise black regiments, but could not prevail; not because they objected to the expense (for they give a most enormous bounty for white men, and pay in slaves), but from an apprehension of the consequences.

It has always been my opinion that, if we could support the extremes of the Confederation, the middle States would always support themselves. Upon this principle, I have ever been anxious to get a force to the southward, so formidable as to discourage the enemy from attempting their reduction. There is no way to effect this, but to render their subjection so difficult and expensive as to make the value less than the trouble and expense. All the Southern States look to you for support. I will do all I can, and you know me too well to suppose I shall shrink at small difficulties. But how feeble are the best intentions, and how vain an obstinate perseverance against a very unequal force!

The enemy have been out lately, in considerable force, in St. Thomas's. They routed General Marion's command, and killed, took, and wounded, upwards of twenty men. They have not ventured out on our side, although the Assembly have been sitting within thirty miles of town, and the enemy a much greater force than we have, which induces me to believe they have orders not to risk a general action. General Wayne has burnt all the enemy's forage, close under their noses at Savannah. I am improving every moment in disciplining and managing the troops, that

they may be in the best condition for whatever may happen. But, alas! we no sooner get our men tolerably well acquainted with their duty, than their term of service expires, and they leave us, and often without others to supply their places. I am, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN.

Arlington, 16 March, 1782.

SIR,

I had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 1st of January by express. I am not insensible that the delicacy of your station in the empire renders it ineligible for you to address me in my public character. Your noticing us, therefore, in your private capacity, under our circumstances, I beg leave to esteem as the strongest mark of your magnanimity and friendship.

While we receive with gratitude the resolves of Congress, of the 7th and 21st of August last, it affords us great satisfaction that your Excellency is willing to consider them as implying the right, which Vermont claims, to be a State, within certain described bounds. And, as the dispute of boundary is the only one that hath prevented our union with the Confederacy, I am very happy in being able to acquaint your Excellency that that is now removed on our part, by our withdrawing our claims upon New Hampshire and New York, and by confining ourselves solely, or very nearly, to that tract of country which is described in the resolve of Congress of the 21st of

August last. Since, therefore, we have withdrawn our jurisdiction to the confines of our old limits, we entertain the highest expectations that we shall soon obtain what we have so long been seeking after, an acknowledgment of independence and sovereignty. For this we have appointed Commissioners, with plenary powers to negotiate an alliance with the Confederated States, and, if they succeed, to take seats in Congress.

Should Heaven prosper the design of their negotiation, we please ourselves much that we, who are of one sentiment in the common cause, and who have but one common interest, shall yet become one nation, and yet be great and happy. The glory of America is our glory, and with our country we mean to live or die, as her fate shall be.

I have no need to acquaint your Excellency, that our local as well as our military (not to say political) situation, as an extended frontier, awfully exposeth these infant plantations to the power and fury of the common enemy. Might we be so happy as to draw the attention of our country, we hope to be favored with your particular exertion. I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN.

P. S. This will be delivered by one of our agents, to whom I beg leave to refer your Excellency for the more particular situation of this State, with regard to military preparations and state of defence.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, 17 March, 1782.

SIR,

You will do me a great deal of pleasure, if you can make it convenient to yourself to spend part of an evening at my apartments, and eat a few oysters, or a crust of bread and cheese; for, besides the favor you will do me, I want much to consult with you on a matter of public business, though of a secret nature, which I have already mentioned to Mr. Morris, whom I likewise intend to ask, as soon as yourself shall please to mention the evening when.

Though it is impossible to find out what the British will do by finding what they ought to do, yet I have been turning over in my mind the circumstances connected with the probable evacuation of Charleston, in order to come at their line of policy on that measure; and, as it is a rainy morning, with no inducement to go out, and I am sitting at leisure, I will take the liberty of communicating them to you.

First. The foundation of the measure, as well as of the (now) general opinion, is, that, if they cannot reinforce, they must evacuate.

Secondly. That being a Ministerial post, General Clinton must wait either for positive or discretionary orders.

Thirdly. That, as it is now a losing game, I am much inclined to believe the Ministry will only give discretionary orders.

Fourthly. That, as Clinton sees the Ministry are pushing the matter off their own shoulders on him, he has likewise pushed it from himself upon a Council of War; and this I take to have been the subject of debate, and not whether New York or Charleston

should be evacuated, as mentioned in General Heath's information.

Fifthly. That orders to prepare for evacuation have been sent, and probably have been accompanied with instructions not to do it till further orders, unless the Commanding Officer at Charleston sees necessity.

Sixthly. But, while these matters were acting, a new circumstance has arisen, not at that time known, which is the miscarriage of Count de Guichen (whose sailing probably produced, in a principal degree, the discretionary instructions from the Ministry), and the sailing of Admiral Rodney, by which he will be first in the West Indies; and as Charleston will, from these two events, be safe for a longer time, I think it is probable that the evacuation will be delayed.

Now all this reasoning may be wrong, because they act without reason. I am your Excellency's

Obliged and obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.*

* Paine was at this time employed as a writer in support of the American cause, as appears by the following agreement.

“Philadelphia, 10 February, 1782.

“The subscribers, taking into consideration the important situation of affairs at the present moment, and the propriety, and even necessity of informing the people and rousing them into action; considering also the abilities of Mr. Thomas Paine as a writer, and that he has been of considerable utility to the common cause by several of his publications; they have agreed, that it will be much for the interest of the United States, that Mr. Paine be engaged in their service for the purposes above mentioned. They have therefore agreed that Mr. Paine be offered a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum, and that the same be paid him by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The salary to commence from this day, and to be paid by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, out of moneys to be allowed by the Superintendent of Finance for secret services; the subscribers being of opinion, that a salary publicly and avowedly given for the above purpose, would injure the effect of Mr. Paine's publications, and subject him to injurious personal reflections.

“ROBERT MORRIS,

“ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX AND GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.*

Elizabethtown, 29 March, 1782.

SIR,

Colonel Smith delivered your Excellency's letter of the 28th, between four and five yesterday afternoon. You mention having had intimations that, under the idea of the cessation of hostilities, a number of people intend to come over from New York to our lines; and express your particular desire, that no persons coming from the enemy may be permitted to land, except the Commissioners and those immediately connected with them. The bad weather of yesterday prevented those gentlemen from coming hither, and we expect them to-day. We have desired Captain Dayton to suffer no persons to land, except those who come in the vessel with the Commissioners; presuming that this is the best line of distinction which can at present be drawn.

We are much inclined to doubt the truth of the information your Excellency has received. The situation of the enemy is such as would naturally induce caution in permitting persons to come hither, whose discretion, as well as fidelity, they are not perfectly assured of. And when our relative circumstances are considered, it must be evident that a reciprocal communication would probably preponderate in our favor. Facts, as far as they have come to our knowledge, justify this reasoning; and there is an additional force

* General Knox and Mr. Morris were appointed Commissioners for the purpose of agreeing upon an exchange of prisoners, and settling the accounts with the enemy for the support of prisoners. They were to meet British Commissioners at Elizabethtown. See their instructions in Washington's Writings, Vol. VIII. p. 249. The British Commissioners were General Dalrymple and Mr. Andrew Elliot.

derived to it, from the consideration that they have had, and (until regulations are made, which neither Congress nor their servants are entirely competent to) will have, a constant intercourse with this country, while we cannot derive that benefit from it which we now may, by having here characters in whom we can confide, such as Colonel Ogden.

There are several persons, whom we may perhaps see here, and whom it is of infinite importance to see; but who would be suspected on admittance, after a strong line of discrimination had been drawn. We have, for instance, a strong probability of gaining some of the enemy's pilots. One of the best of them, whose name is Morris, was unfortunately taken prisoner the day before yesterday, and will come from Brunswick this day. On the whole, we beg leave to submit it to your Excellency, whether it might not be better to wink at an intercourse from which we may now derive benefit, and which will at other times subsist to our prejudice. If, however, your Excellency should be of a different opinion, we will rigidly comply with your wishes as far as possibly we can. We shall write to your Excellency upon the other subjects of your letter by Colonel Smith, who will wait here for the purpose. We have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

(Translation.)

Philadelphia, 13 April, 1782.

SIR,

I embrace the first moment after my return from Virginia, to comply with the request of the principal officers of our army in tendering you their sincere respects. I have already forwarded to your Excellency a letter from Count de Rochambeau. On my return here, I found letters from my Court, dated in February last. They do not announce any thing pacific on the part of our enemies. No progress is made in the mediation of the Courts of Vienna and Petersburg; and the Court of London seems determined to risk the event of another campaign, in which they will employ all the strength they have left. The plan for the campaign was not yet finally decided; it depending on some arrangements which were yet to be made with the Court of Madrid, and on some advices which were expected from the Antilles. It nevertheless seemed to be the intention to act vigorously for the assistance of the United States; and though no particular assurances could be given me on this head, yet, from what they write me, it is probable that New York or Charleston, or perhaps both, will be the object of their efforts next campaign.

I think it, however, proper to inform you that, at the same time they announce to me their general views, they observe that it is an unhappy circumstance that the American army is so weak as it is; and they seem to fear that it will not be in a condition to second their efforts, when it shall be necessary to strike a decisive stroke, or to undertake ope-

rations in which such extensive means are required as in a siege.

I beg your Excellency would enable me to give my Court the necessary information on a matter so important as this is. I am not curious to know any of the particular details relative to your army, which it may be necessary to keep secret; but the military operations of France and America are so intimately connected, that it is indispensable for us to know what is the actual force and means which you have, in order to calculate, with any degree of probability, what enterprises can be undertaken. Our ignorance in this respect cannot but be very prejudicial to our affairs, because if, from false information, we consider your army as weaker than it really is, it will prevent our forming plans which it would be possible to execute; and if, on the contrary, we are led to believe it stronger than it really is, we run the risk of forming plans impracticable in their execution. It is from these considerations that I beg you to confide to me such information on this head as you may think proper, both with respect to the actual force you have at the different parts of the Continent, and what it will probably be in the course of the campaign. It is equally interesting to know the force of the enemy, both in regulars and militia. I beg you to rest assured of the discretion with which I shall make use of these communications.

I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of communicating to you the sentiments with which our Court and the nation at large are inspired, from the reports of the French officers, respecting your Excellency, on their return to Versailles. Their testimony could add nothing to the universal opinion of the great services you have rendered your country; but to the

esteem and admiration of the French, is now added a sentiment of affection and attachment, which is the just return for that attention our military experienced from you, and the progress they made in their profession by serving under your orders. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most respectful and inviolable attachment, Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

LUZERNE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX AND GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Elizabethtown, 16 April, 1782.

SIR,

General Forman, who is now on his way to you with a representation on the hanging of Captain Huddy by the refugees, will have the honor of delivering your Excellency this letter. Previous to the General's arrival, we had heard of this matter, although not so particularly. We mentioned it to General Dalrymple and Mr. Elliot. They seemed to be surprised and wounded at the information, and assured us of their conviction that the deed had been perpetrated, not only without the order of Sir Henry Clinton, but without his knowledge. We should now make a representation on the subject in form, but are induced to think, that, as it will have far greater weight, so it will come with more propriety from your Excellency to General Clinton.

We have not, in any instance, made a direct and formal written inquiry, as to the Board of Refugees, conceiving that the event of the business committed to us would have rendered it unnecessary. In conversation, however, they have been often mentioned.

They are, it seems, appointed by, and correspond with, the British Ministry. Their agents are commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton. They act by their own authority, under sufferance of the British Commander-in-chief, but subordinate to his authority, if he pleases to exert it.

We did expect that our business would have terminated yesterday, but it seems that they have something to propose this day. Should we not finish immediately, Colonel Smith will go hence to-morrow morning and carry our proceedings. Should we finish this day or to-morrow, we shall make up our report as soon as possible, and transmit it by the Colonel. We have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servants,

HENRY KNOX.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Fort Pitt, 20 April, 1782.

SIR,

I arrived here the 25th of March. At that time things were in greater confusion than can well be conceived. The country people were, to all appearance, in a fit of frenzy. About three hundred had just returned from the Moravian towns, where they found about ninety men, women, and children, all of whom they put to death, it is said, after cool deliberation, and considering the matter for three days. The whole were collected into their church, and tied when singing hymns. On their return, a party came and attacked a few Delaware Indians, who have yet

remained with us, on a small island close by this garrison, killed two who had Captain's commissions in our service, and several others; the remainder effected their escape into the fort, except two who ran to the woods, and have not since been heard of. There was an officer's guard on the island at the same time, but he either did not do his duty, or his men connived at the thing; which, I am not yet able to ascertain. This last outrage was committed the day before I arrived; nothing of this nature has been attempted since.

A number of wrong-headed men had conceived an opinion, that Colonel Gibson was a friend to Indians, and that he must be killed also. These transactions, added to the then mutinous disposition of the regular troops, had nearly brought on the loss of this whole country. I am confident, if this post was evacuated, the bounds of Canada would be extended to the Laurel Hill in a few weeks. I have the pleasure, however, to inform your Excellency that things now wear a more favorable aspect. The troops are again reduced to obedience, and I have had a meeting, or Convention, of the County Lieutenants and several Field-Officers, with whom I have made arrangements for defending their frontiers, and who promise to exert themselves in drawing out the militia, agreeably to law, on my requisitions. The few remaining Indians, chiefly women and children, are exceeding troublesome to us, as they dare not stir out of the fort; not one of the warriors will even venture on a reconnoitring party. I think they would be better in some more interior part of the country, where they could be both cheaper fed and clothed. Besides, it is not only inconvenient, but improper, to have them among the troops, who are, without them, crowded in

dirty, bad barracks. I beg your Excellency's instructions how to dispose of them. Their Chief, Killbuck, has a son and brother at Princeton College, whom he is anxious to see.

Captain Springer, of the Virginia line, marched, some time since, with three Indians and as many white men, towards Sandusky, for the purpose of gaining intelligence; but the Indians proved too timid for him to venture to go all the way. He of course returned, without being able to accomplish any thing. I thought it too great a risk, but it was by his request, and that of the Indians, who were very solicitous. It was proved on one of the party, named Eells, that he intended betraying Captain Springer, and all the party, into the hands of the enemy. I directed a Board of Officers to inquire into his conduct, who were of opinion he should suffer death. I ordered him executed; he was shot on the 12th instant, seemingly much to the satisfaction of the other Indians.

Civil authority is by no means properly established in this country, which I doubt proceeds in some degree from inattention in the Executives of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Not running the boundary line is, I think, a proof of this, which is at present an excuse for neglects of duty of all kinds, for at least twenty miles on each side of the line. More evils will arise from this neglect, than people are aware of. Emigrations and New States are much talked of. Advertisements are set up, announcing a day to assemble at Wheeling, for all who wish to become members of a new State on the Muskingum. A certain Mr. Johnson is at the head of this party; he is ambitious, restless, and some say disaffected. Most people, however agree, he is open to corruption; he

has been in England since the commencement of the present war. Should these people actually emigrate, they must be either entirely cut off, or immediately take protection from the British, which I fear is the real design of some of the party, though I think a great majority have no other views than to acquire lands. As I apprehended taking cognizance of these matters would come best from the civil authority, I have written to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania on the subject, which I should not have done, till I had first acquainted your Excellency thereof, but for this consideration, namely, that the 20th of May is the day appointed for the emigrants to rendezvous; consequently a representation from you would be too late, in case the States should think proper to take measures to prevent them. I am much embarrassed by the scanty and irregular supply of provision. I intend to write to Mr. Morris on this head. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
WILLIAM IRVINE.

FROM GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

Trenton, 14 May, 1782.

SIR,

I now do myself the honor of particularly addressing myself to answer your Excellency's letter of the 6th instant. While the whole world must applaud your Excellency's resolution of retaliating for the barbarous murder committed upon Captain Huddy, which is in favor of humanity, by its tendency to prevent the like cruelties, this State, of which he was a good citizen and a brave soldier, is particularly obliged to

your Excellency for your zeal and exertions upon that occasion.

Utterly divesting myself of all local attachments, and of every possible prejudice in favor of New Jersey, I really do not recollect that the militia of this State, or any other of its citizens, have ever committed against a prisoner of war any act of cruelty, or treated such prisoner, in any instance, contrary to the laws of arms. Sure I am that I should discountenance the practice to the utmost of my power; and all that prevents me from issuing the most positive orders against it is, that such orders would either imply the previous practice, or be ranked with the folly of a Legislator, who should enact laws for punishing a crime that had never been committed. If the enemy complain of any cruel treatment from our militia towards their prisoners, they ought, like all other accusers, to produce their proof, and then, I am persuaded that they will not complain in vain, as they well know that we have done to this very moment.

Respecting your Excellency's inquiry concerning the circumstances of the capture of Hatfield and Badgely, and the causes of their detention, I inclose a copy of Chief Justice Brearley's letter to me on that subject; and have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem, your Excellency's

Most humble and very obedient servant,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

Bacon's Bridge, South Carolina, 19 May, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am much obliged to you for honoring my bill in

favor of General Lincoln. It includes the whole sum expended, on your account, in France. The plan, which brought me to this country, was urged with all the zeal which the subject inspired, both in our Privy Council and Assembly; but the single voice of reason was drowned by the howlings of a triple-headed monster, in which prejudice, avarice, and pusillanimity were united. It was some degree of consolation to me, however, to perceive that truth and philosophy had gained some ground; the suffrages in favor of the measure being twice as numerous as on a former occasion. Some hopes have been lately given me from Georgia; but I fear, when the question is put, we shall be outvoted there with as much disparity as we have been in this country.*

The reports of the prompt evacuation of Charleston I always thought groundless, and should have much sooner inferred the probability of such an event from the language of the debates in the British Parliament than from the conduct and arrangements of General Leslie. The late disaster of the Count de Grasse, in the West Indies, makes me more incredulous on the subject than ever. General Leslie confines himself to the most circumspect defensive conduct, which he is not likely to change, as he recently detached the nineteenth and thirtieth regiments to Jamaica. This renders the campaign perfectly inactive here, and, above all, insipid to the light troops, which I at present command.

I presume your Excellency has not yet determined your plan for the ensuing campaign, and that it must depend on the coöperation of our allies. I earnestly desire to be where any active plans are likely to be

* The plan here alluded to was that of raising a regiment of negroes. Washington's Writings, Vol. VIII. p. 323.

executed, and to be near your Excellency on all occasions in which my services can be acceptable. The pursuit of an object which, I confess, is a favorite one with me, because I always regarded the interests of this country and those of the Union as intimately connected with it, has detached me more than once from your family; but those sentiments of veneration and attachment with which your Excellency has inspired me, keep me always near you, with the sincerest and most zealous wishes for a continuance of your happiness and glory. Give me leave to say that I am ever, my dear General,

Your Excellency's faithful Aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, 19 May, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Fortune seems to smile upon the perseverance of Great Britain. Count de Grasse's defeat, mentioned in my official letter, appears to be much more important than I expected. Since I wrote, I have seen Admiral Rodney's letter. Count de Grasse is a prisoner, and has lost six ships of the line; and I fear the rest of the fleet are so shattered as to be incapable of attempting any thing for a long time. This misfortune will put it out of the power of our ally to coöperate with us in these States or to the northward. I expect the enemy, from finding it impracticable for the French to coöperate with us, and from having again the command of the sea, will detach from New York to this quarter to prosecute farther operations. However, this will depend upon the force

they have at New York. All that will be necessary there, will be a good garrison. They cannot have offensive operations in view there. Their force is unequal to it; but, by detaching a part to this quarter, they can improve it to advantage, and leave New York in perfect security.

I have always been of opinion that farther attempts would be made for the subjugation of this country, should fortune favor them in the West Indies. I can see no other reason for having held footing in it so long. Should Count Rochambeau be ordered to this quarter for offensive operations, I hope your Excellency will also come yourself; for it will not be for the honor of America that a foreigner command an American department. If this cannot take place, I could wish the American force could act independent of his command, and only act by conjunction. I believe my rank will give several French officers a right to command me; but, if the honor of the nation was not connected with it, I should have no objection. However, I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever you may think necessary for the good of the service. My desire to be useful is so much greater than my wish for command, that there are no conditions to which I will not cheerfully submit, that are not personally disgraceful, to promote the interest of this country.

I fear Virginia will do little, while the French army is in that State, either for herself or the Union. As far as I can learn, little or nothing has been done for seven months past; nor can I learn that any decisive measures are pursuing for the purpose. Whatever may be your Excellency's intentions with regard to the French army, it would not be amiss to inform the Governor that they may expect that army

to leave them shortly, and that great exertions are necessary for their own security. It may serve as a spur, and the genius of America often requires spurring.

I wish to know your Excellency's intentions in this quarter, as early as possible. Many measures will be requisite to accommodate matters to your views, if you have any thing offensive in view. Could the French army have arrived in this country by the middle of this month, I am confident we could have obliged the enemy to have evacuated it. Reports say here your Excellency had a narrow escape through the Clove. Mrs. Greene joins me in respectful compliments to yourself and Mrs. Washington.

With esteem and affection, I am, &c.,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Fort Pitt, 21 May, 1782.

SIR,

A number of the principal people of this country made application to me, about two weeks since, for my consent to their collecting a body of volunteers to go against Sandusky, which I agreed to on these express conditions;—that they did not mean to extend their settlements, nor had any thing in view but to harass the enemy, with an intention to protect the frontier, and that any conquests they might make should be in behalf and for the United States; that they would be governed by military laws as militia; that they must collect such numbers as might probably be successful; and, lastly, that they would equip

themselves and victual at their own expense. They are accordingly assembling this day at the Mingo bottom, all on horseback, with thirty days' provision. They have asked of me only a few flints, and a small supply of powder.

As they will elect their officers, I have taken some pains to get Colonel Crawford appointed to command, and hope he will be. He left me yesterday, on his way down to the place of rendezvous. He does not wish to go with a smaller number than four hundred; whether this number will assemble, I cannot say. He pressed me for some officers. I have sent with him Lieutenant Rose, my Aid-de-camp, a very vigilant, active, brave, young gentleman, well acquainted with service; and a surgeon. These two are all I could venture to spare. Several were solicitous for my going, but I did not think myself at liberty, consistent with the spirit of your Excellency's instructions; nor are we in such a situation that I could take a single Continental soldier along, particularly as the volunteers are all mounted. If their number exceeds three hundred, I am of opinion they may succeed, as their march will be so rapid they will probably, in a great degree, effect a surprise.

I cannot find a man in this country, who has a tolerable knowledge of the road to Niagara. There are numbers who are acquainted to the heads of Alleghany; from thence I think the people of the State of New York are better acquainted than any this way. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM IRVINE.

P. S. The volunteers have sent requesting my in-

structions (which I will send) for the officer who may be appointed to command. The troops behave remarkably well, since a few examples have been made.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 29 May, 1782.

SIR,

I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the 15th instant, which would have been acknowledged by the subsequent post, had I not been made to expect a small supply of money the same week, by the bearer of which I meant to write to your Excellency. But in this expectation also I was disappointed. My long continuance here has distressed me exceedingly, but it appeared to me that the service would be promoted by it. I had, from time to time, sent orders to Colonel Hughes to prepare every thing that was to be provided in his department for the ensuing campaign, and to the Commissary of Forage to procure his supplies, assuring them, agreeably to the encouragement I had myself received, that I would furnish them with money to fulfil their engagements, every necessary estimate for these purposes having been laid before the Superintendent of Finance, and the necessity of the supplies admitted.

These services being undertaken in full confidence that I should bring with me the requisite sums of money, I did not dare to return without them. While the Financier held up to my view the prospect of supplies, I presented the same to Colonel Hughes and at my own office, and thereby kept alive the hopes of the public creditors, who, had I returned

moneyless, would have been reduced to absolute despair, and all business and supplies have ceased. But I am now more unhappy than ever; for I cannot continue to mention even a prospect of fulfilling my engagements. Until I was led to expect supplies of money to carry on the business of the department, I cautiously avoided making any positive engagements, thinking the public creditors had been too long abused by faithless promises to admit of any further deception to the public advantage; and the making of promises, without a well-grounded prospect of fulfilling them, being totally opposed to my disposition.

I have at last reduced my immediate demand of money "not to the articles *necessary* and *best* to be provided now, but to those, for which unless money can be furnished, the credit of the department will be irretrievably lost." But I can obtain nothing at present. The principal causes of this disappointment your Excellency is probably informed of. The same causes prevent the completing the purchases of ox-teams. The sum I received for those purchases was in Mr. Morris's notes, and amounted only to about three fifths of the sum requisite for that service; and whether any purchases could be made with them at the eastward, was a matter of uncertainty, from which no information from my deputies there has relieved me. But, if they have succeeded, it is in such a way as forbids the Financier giving me any more of them; for these notes are not received there as cash, but only as pledges, which are bought up by speculators, who make a run upon the funds assigned for their redemption.

My stay here goads me with perpetual anxiety. To return empty, would be mortifying in the highest degree, and expose me to infinite vexation. To ask

a credit of anybody, after the deceptions with which I shall be charged, and before the engagements already made are fulfilled, would be deemed a piece of effrontery, and nothing could be obtained without recurring to the odious and expensive mode of impress. Thus embarrassed and distressed, I have represented my situation to the Secretary at War, who will thereon have some communications with the Superintendent of Finance; and by their opinion or your Excellency's orders I shall be governed. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Williamsburg, 8 June, 1782.

SIR,

In the moment I was writing to your Excellency I received a confirmation of the result of the engagement on the 12th of April, which, by all the reports from the Cape, Port au Prince, and all the intelligence from New York and Jamaica, seems very bad for us.*

I was proposing to you that, as there was not as yet any plan for the campaign decided at our Court, and as I waited, with the greatest impatience, for the arrival of the Duke of Lauzun, I thought that it was suitable to march the corps towards New York, that, jointly with your army, we might hinder the enemy from sending any forces to the aid of Jamaica. These bad news quite overthrow that military speculation, so that I see no more reason for that march of the

* The defeat of Count de Grasse, in the West Indies.

French corps to join you, unless there be political ones, which I must submit to your reflection and to your order.

The Captain of a flag, arrived yesterday from New York, assures that he had sailed with thirty-six transports, escorted by three ships of war, going to Charleston and Savannah. They are empty, and it is believed they are going to evacuate those places. If that be the case, all their forces being assembled there, there is nothing more for us to do. If the army moves that way, we must assure a protection to New York and West Point, where will stay our navy and heavy artillery, by a body of militia which Virginia must furnish, to which I would add five [regiments of] French troops; and, considering the resolution of the British Parliament not to carry on an offensive war on the Continent, I cannot see any good proceeding from the march of the French troops on New York. On the contrary, I think it might engage Carleton to send a detachment and make some undertaking against our ships, when the army would be at a great distance, as he might undertake against the French without deviating from the resolution not to carry on any longer an offensive war on the Continent, to endeavour to reduce America by force. Such, Sir, are my observations. I communicate them to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and submit them to the reflections and orders of your Excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM COLONEL LAURENS.

12 June, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,

The approaching session of the Georgia Legislature, and the encouragement given me by Governor Howley, who has a decisive influence in the counsels of that country, induce me to remain in this quarter for the purpose of taking new measures on the subject of our black levies. The arrival of Colonel Baylor, whose seniority entitles him to the command of the light troops, affords me ample leisure for pursuing the business in person; and I shall do it, with all the tenacity of a man making a last effort on so interesting an occasion.

The sterility of the present campaign affords nothing worthy to be detailed to your Excellency. Our operations have been confined to inconsiderable skirmishes, and some little partisan strokes on our part, which were brilliant, and served to amuse us in default of better employment.

My last letter was closed and despatched a moment before Mr. Leslie's letter arrived, to General Greene, to feel his pulse on the subject of an armistice, and administer every political opiate that could be contrived. The General's answer was obvious. Since that, peace has been the prevailing topic in Charleston; the terms of it founded in conjecture, and framed by the interests and passions of different individuals. The wisdom and virtue of Congress have no doubt given the proper repulse to the sounders, who have approached them. It is more and more to be lamented, that the French force, under Count Rochambeau, has not been applied to assist in opening the trenches

before Charleston, and that the idea of an evacuation of that post has been so successfully propagated. The expulsion or capture of the British garrison there, would infinitely abridge negotiation. I renew my wishes for a continuance of your Excellency's happiness and prosperity; and am ever, dear General,
Your faithful aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S. My letter will be delivered to your Excellency by Mr. Lovell, of the partisan legion. He is an officer of merit, and as such I take the liberty of presenting him to your Excellency.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Fort Pitt, 16 June, 1782.

SIR,

In my letter of the 21st of May, I mentioned to your Excellency that a body of volunteer militia were assembling at the Mingo Bottom, to go against Sandusky. The inclosed letters, one from Colonel Williamson, second in command, and the other from Lieutenant Rose, my Aid-de-camp, contain all the particulars of this transaction which have yet come to my knowledge. I am of opinion, had they reached the place in seven days, instead of ten, which might have been done, especially as they were chiefly mounted, they would have succeeded. They should also have pushed the advantage evidently gained at the commencement of the action. They failed in another point, which they had my advice, and indeed positive orders for, namely, to make the last day's march as

long as possible, and attack the place in the night; but they halted in the evening, within nine miles, and fired their rifles at seven in the morning, before they marched. These people now seem convinced that they cannot perform as much by themselves as they some time since thought they could. Perhaps it is right that they should put more dependence on regular troops. I am sorry I have not more, to afford them assistance. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
WILLIAM IRVINE.

FROM HENRY BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.*

Elizabethtown, 16 June, 1782.

SIR,

Considering the various and important objects of your Excellency's constant attention, it is with the greatest reluctance I prevail upon myself to engage it a single moment by any thing not of some immediate public consequence. Yet such is my present situation, that I flatter myself your Excellency will pardon my freedom in requesting your attention to it.

On the 11th of March last, I sailed from Cadiz, and was taken by an English frigate on the 25th of the month following. At New York, I was committed to the Provost, and continued in it until the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton, who liberated me on parole. Having been absent from America on furlough, without exceeding the term thereof, and having a Lieu-

* When Mr. Jay went to Spain as Minister Plenipotentiary, he was accompanied by Mr. Livingston, as his Private Secretary. Mr. Livingston held a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, but obtained permission of absence on furlough, from Congress.

tenant-Colonel's commission in my pocket, I did not think there could be any impropriety in signing a parole as such, and in being exchanged accordingly. But on perusing the journals of Congress, I find, by resolutions passed the 31st of December, 1781, and 21st of January, 1782, that I am among those officers who are considered as retiring from service on half-pay the first day of the present year. Those resolves your Excellency will readily believe I must have been a perfect stranger to, at the time of my capture, neither of them having had time to reach Madrid when I came away, which was on the 7th of February last. This circumstance will, I trust, exculpate me from any censure, and will induce your Excellency to permit me to be considered as a Lieutenant-Colonel in any future exchange, agreeably to the tenor of my parole.

I cannot conclude, without taking notice of that part of Sir Guy Carleton's first letter to your Excellency, in which he appears to make a merit of my enlargement, and to think himself entitled, therefor, to some return on the part of your Excellency. Lest this circumstance may induce a suspicion that some part of my conduct, while in confinement, may have given the enemy reason to believe that I considered my liberation in the light of a favor, or took improper steps to obtain it, I think it incumbent on me to lay before your Excellency a narrative of what passed on that occasion.

Immediately on landing at New York, Mr. Sproat informed me, on the part of General Robertson, that I was to be confined in the Provost, and Mr. Chief-Justice Smith was sent thither to apologize for my being treated in that manner. I told Mr. Smith, that throwing a person into a common jail, merely on

suspicion of his being the bearer of important despatches, appeared to me an unprecedented and a very extraordinary measure; but that, as it could answer no purpose to enter into an altercation with him, I should write to General Robertson himself on the subject. And, on pen, ink, and paper being brought me, I wrote him a letter of which the inclosed is a copy.

In answer thereto, the General sent me a polite message by Major Wemyss, the purport of which was, that "reasons of state rendered my confinement necessary, but that I might rest assured it would be of very short duration." The Major concluded by apologizing for my not receiving a written answer, the General's time being wholly engrossed by very pressing business. Major Wemyss had scarcely retired, when Captain Cunningham, the Provost-Marshal, mentioned to me, for the first time, Lippencott's situation, and what had passed between your Excellency and Sir Henry Clinton on that subject. He did not seem to speak from authority, but gave me to understand, as politely as he could, that it might be well for me to interest myself on the occasion, as it was impossible to say to what lengths retaliation might be carried, in case your Excellency should execute the threat you had thrown out. I was not then apprised of all the circumstances relative to the murder of Captain Huddy; but, had I been a total stranger to your Excellency's character, Cunningham's own state of the matter must have convinced me of the perfect propriety of your requisition. I told him so, and (after laughing at the idea of any interest of mine or of my friends being sufficient to induce your Excellency to recede from so just a demand) promised to comply with his request,

provided he would first engage to transmit to your Excellency whatever I might think proper to write on the matter. He replied, General Robertson must first see it. This convinced me it would be useless to write, from a certainty that my letter would not correspond with his wishes, and, of course, not be forwarded. I sat down, however, and wrote what is inclosed to my father.

I had now determined to make no further application to General Robertson; nor did I hear any thing more from head-quarters until the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton, who sent for me without my applying to him, either verbally or by letter. On being introduced to his Excellency, he informed me, in the presence of Mr. Smith, of his being much surprised at hearing of my confinement, and very happy to have it in his power so soon to put a period to it. Without leaving time to reply, he acquainted me with his intention to send his Secretary with a *complimentary* letter to Congress; and begged of me, in order to facilitate Mr. Morgan's journey, to accept of a seat in his carriage. After thanking him for his attention, I asked whether Mr. Morgan had permission from Congress or your Excellency to proceed to Philadelphia; and, on being answered in the negative, told him that I recollected Mr. Ferguson's having been stopped on a like errand for want of such passport, and that Mr. Morgan would probably be obliged to return, should he undertake the journey without one. He said, the idea was perfectly new to him. He did not conceive any necessity of a flag's being furnished with a passport; and, if so in Mr. Ferguson's case, my going with his Secretary must supersede that necessity in the present one. I observed to him, that his Excellency must allow that there was a wide

difference between sending a military flag to an outpost of our army, and sending a person, in Mr. Morgan's character, through so great a part of the country, to Philadelphia; and that without such a pass I must beg leave to decline the pleasure I should otherwise derive from travelling in that gentleman's company.

Sir Guy then proposed that the Secretary and myself should go together; and, in case of the former being stopped, I was to proceed with his despatches to Congress. This also I refused, telling him that, as it was probable his letters contained some overtures, I could not consent to charge myself with them, unless his Excellency would assure me they contained an acknowledgment of our independence, or a promise to withdraw their fleets and armies; that these were the only terms on which Congress had agreed to open a treaty in 1778, and that it was not probable they would listen to any thing short thereof now. He seemed somewhat surprised, and, after a little hesitation, assured me, upon his honor, that he was vested with no such powers; that his intended letter to Congress was a matter of mere compliment; but if there was any danger of Mr. Morgan's meeting with difficulties, he would postpone his journey until he could hear from your Excellency on the subject.

This closed our conversation for that day. The next morning, agreeably to his desire, I waited on him again. He received me very politely, talked much of the King's pacific dispositions, of his own earnest desire of an honorable peace, of his wishes to carry on the war, while it did prevail, more consonant to the dictates of humanity than heretofore. He was persuaded of meeting with corresponding sentiments

in your Excellency; that both countries were interested in supporting the British character; that, if England and America must separate, it would be their mutual interest to part like men of honor, and in good humor with each other. After a great deal more, to the same purpose, he informed me a barge was ready to take me to Elizabethtown. He then put into my hands a letter for my father, some English prints, with a few copies of the Bill, and of the votes of the House of Commons, which he said should be transmitted to your Excellency by another flag. After signing a parole, I took my leave.

I hope your Excellency will forgive my having been so very prolix on this occasion, as nothing but an idea of its being my duty has led me to be circumstantial in every thing that passed between the Commander-in-chief and myself during my captivity in New York. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

HENRY BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

Fort Pitt, 11 July, 1782.

SIR,

Dr. Knight, a surgeon I sent with Colonel Crawford, returned the 4th instant to this place. He brings an account of the melancholy fate of poor Crawford. The day after the main body retreated, the Colonel, Doctor, and nine others, were overtaken, about thirty miles from the field of action, by a body of Indians, to whom they surrendered. They were taken back to

Sandusky, where they all, except the Doctor, were put to death. The unfortunate Colonel, in particular, was burned and tortured in every manner they could invent.

The Doctor, after being a spectator of this distressing scene, was sent, under guard of one Indian, to the Shawanese Town, where he was told he would share the same fate next day; but fortunately found an opportunity of demolishing the fellow, and making his escape. The Doctor adds, that a certain Simon Girty, who was formerly in our service, and deserted with McKee, and is now said to have a commission in the British service, was present at torturing Colonel Crawford, and that he, the Doctor, was informed by an Indian, that a British Captain commands at Sandusky; that he believes he was present, also, but is not certain; but says that he saw a person there who was dressed and who appeared like a British officer. He also says the Colonel begged of Girty to shoot him, but he paid no regard to the request. A certain Slover has also come in yesterday, who was under sentence at the Shawanese Town. He says a Mr. William Harrison, son-in-law to Colonel Crawford, was quartered and burned. Both he and the Doctor say they were assured, by sundry Indians they formerly knew, that not a single soul should in future escape torture; and gave, as a reason for this conduct, the Moravian affair. A number of people inform me, that Colonel Crawford ought to be considered as a Continental officer, and are of opinion retaliation should take place. These, however, are such facts as I have been able to get. Dr. Knight is a man of undoubted veracity.*

* See the "Narrative of Dr. Knight," and also the "Narrative of John Slover," in a volume entitled *Incidents of Border Life*, pp. 131, 139. Slover was employed as a guide to the party under Colonel

This account has struck the people of this country with a strange mixture of fear and resentment. Their solicitations for making another excursion are increasing daily, and they are actually beginning to prepare for it. I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,
Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
WILLIAM IRVINE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ashley River, South Carolina,
11 July, 1782.

SIR,

My letter of the 7th ultimo, covering the returns of the army, I hope has been safely delivered. Since which I have been duly honored with your Excellency's favors of the 23d of April and 22d of May. The troops have been so badly clothed, and the season is so very hot, that many of the soldiery have been seized with fevers, which renders them unfit for service, although it has by no means proved mortal. I have procured, with the aid of the Executive of this State, materials for a check shirt, a pair of overalls, and a coatee, for each of them, which will alleviate their distress until the supplies from Philadelphia arrive.

On the 7th instant, I changed the position of the army, in hopes of finding one more healthy. I have taken post on the south side of Ashley River, seven

Crawford. He had been a prisoner among the Indians during the last war, and was well acquainted with the country beyond the Ohio. The Indian who is said above to have been "demolished" by Dr. Knight, was not killed. He was severely wounded, but made his escape, and was seen by Slover after his return to one of the Indian towns.

miles below Bacon's Bridge, and fifteen from Charleston. The ground is high and dry; the water is good; and it has the appearance of the most healthy place this country affords. We have been daily in expectation of hearing of the evacuation of Savannah. It is an event which I believe has been determined on for some time past. The people of this country have their expectations raised, and are sanguine in their hopes that Charleston will be speedily abandoned. There are some preparations on which their opinions are founded; but I must confess, they seem to be rather contracting their works than abandoning the place. The situation of their troops at the Quartermaster's house, they find so very unhealthy, that they will be under the necessity of leaving it. They have advanced their works one mile on the neck, to which they will retire.

The enemy are so well informed of the want of energy and exertion in the States, that I am apprehensive they will withdraw part of their troops, leaving a small garrison to be held in constant readiness to evacuate, whenever they find a combined attack meditated against them.

Mrs. Greene joins me in returning the most sincere thanks for your and Mrs. Washington's attention, and we beg you will accept our best wishes for your happiness. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

NATHANIEL GREENE.

P. S. The copy of a letter from General Wayne, and the returns of the army, will accompany this letter.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Philadelphia, 17 July, 1782.

SIR,

I had the honor to write to your Excellency that, at my departure from York in Virginia, I would leave in that place a detachment of four hundred French troops, which were to be joined by a corps of the Virginian militia, to assure the possession of that harbour to the French navy now there, and that may arrive in future. At the moment of my leaving that place, the American militia were just beginning to arrive; and I have left M. de Lavalette, Brigadier-General, with four hundred French troops. I have expressly recommended to him the American artillery, which remained there after the siege of York, with orders to place it upon West Point, to join it to our siege artillery, in case superior land and sea forces should oblige him to retreat on West Point, with the King's navy. I think that the quantity of American artillery left at York is much greater than is necessary for the conservation of that post, and that at least one half may be taken away, whenever your Excellency shall think fit.

One battery of eight pieces at York, and another of six at Gloucester, will be sufficient to protect the harbour; and I am of opinion that General Lincoln will do very well to send his orders that the rest, amounting to thirty pieces and upwards, according to the best of my knowledge, may be removed. This is my opinion, Sir, in answer to the letter which you did me the honor to write me on that object yesterday. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

P. S. I send to your Excellency my answer to Sir Guy Carleton, which I beg you would read, and send by the first occasion to New York.

FROM JAMES MONROE.

Richmond, 15 August, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

You will pardon the liberty I take in writing to you upon a subject, which has no relation to the public interest, when I inform you I am induced thereto merely from a principle of gratitude, to make acknowledgment for the personal service I have received from your Excellency. The introduction you gave me some time since to this State, for the purpose of attaining some military appointment, to place me in the service of my country, in a line with those worthy citizens with whom common hardship and danger had nearly connected me, although it failed in that instance, has availed me in another line.

Upon relinquishing my military pursuits, which I did with reluctance, and returning to those studies in which I had been engaged previous to my joining the army, till of late I have been literally a recluse. Having gone through that course, which, in the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, to whom I submitted the direction of my studies, was sufficient to qualify me in some degree for public business, in my application to my country in the first instance, and in the subsequent appointment of the Assembly to the Executive Council of the State, I have had the pleasure to experience your friendly letter in my favor, of essential service to me. If, therefore, I was so fortunate in the management of my conduct more immediately un-

der your eye, as to gain your good opinion and esteem, I flatter myself that, in the discharge of the duties of my present office, and a faithful observance and attention to the confidence reposed in me by my country, I shall take no step which will entitle me to forfeit theirs, or give you cause to repent your prepossession in my favor. A consciousness that I had, in some degree, merited your approbation, and that of the gentlemen of the army with whom I had the honor to associate, gave me a consolation and a pleasure in my subsequent retirement (though wounded and chagrined at my disappointment from the State), which I could not have derived from any other source. If, in the line of my present appointment, fortune should put it in my power to pay attention to, or obey in any instance, your Excellency's commands, believe me she could not confer a favor on me I should receive with greater pleasure from her hands.

With every sentiment of respect and esteem, with which your great and unwearied service to your country, and your kind and friendly attention to me, can fill my breast, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES MONROE.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Philadelphia, 17 August, 1782.

SIR,

General Lincoln has, in his letter of yesterday, acquainted me that it is your Excellency's desire to know if I wish to take command in the army this

campaign. I beg your Excellency to believe, that I am always ready to obey your commands, and shall be most happy when I can execute them to your satisfaction. I have but to entreat, that no attention to me, or my rank, may interfere, or break in upon any part of your Excellency's arrangements. My zeal for the public interest makes me exceedingly anxious to be present at the great concluding stroke of this war.

I intend to proceed immediately to Berkley, and prepare myself for taking the field. I brought nothing with me here; neither did I settle my domestic matters before I left home. This will take up but a few days; when finished, I shall hold myself constantly ready to obey your orders. I earnestly request your Excellency will be assured of my inviolable attachment, and that no time or circumstance shall ever shake that resolution. In consequence of my application to Congress upon my arrival here, I have received the inclosed resolve, in a very affectionate letter from my worthy friend, General Lincoln.* With sentiments of the greatest esteem and respect, I am, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most faithful, humble servant,
HORATIO GATES.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ashley Hill, 29 August, 1782.

SIR,

Since I wrote to your Excellency, a day or two

* *In Congress, August 14th.* "Resolved, that the resolution of the 5th of October, 1780, directing a Court of Inquiry on the conduct of Major-General Gates, be repealed; and that he take command in the main army, as the Commander-in-chief shall direct."

ago, Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens has been killed in an action on the Combahee River, about fifty miles south of our camp. The enemy made a detachment into that quarter, with a number of armed vessels, empty sloops and schooners, with about five hundred infantry, to collect rice. General Gist, with the light troops, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens held a command, was detached to oppose them. Inclosed is a copy of General Gist's letter containing an account of the different operations. Colonel Laurens's fall is glorious; but his fate is much to be lamented. Your Excellency has lost a valuable Aid-de-camp, the army a brave officer, and the public a worthy and patriotic citizen.

The enemy made a descent upon Santee, some little time since, to collect rice, in which they were but too successful. The situation in which it lay, prevented General Marion from giving them any considerable interruption. The rivers of this country are very favorable for this kind of enterprises; but I am in hopes the enemy will get but little by their present expedition.

It is said that Admiral Pigot is on this coast with near thirty sail of the line, to take off the garrison of New York. A part of the fleet is to take post at Beaufort, to take off the garrison of Charleston. It is said the enemy, within a few days past, have been meditating an attack upon us. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Princeton, 7 September, 1782.

SIR,

I have the honor to send to your Excellency a letter, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne begs you would send by the dragoons established on the road to Boston for carrying on the correspondence. It contains a generous offer made by Congress to the King of a seventy-four gun ship.*

The news which I have here of the British fleet, are that Admiral Pigot is got into New York with very few ships, himself in a bad state of health, and that Admiral Hood, with the greatest part of the fleet, has sailed for Halifax. If your Excellency has the same intelligence confirmed, I beg you would send my letter to M. de Vaudreuil. It is, however, certain that M. Dumas, Deputy Quartermaster-General, has seen yesterday a great part of the fleet under sail before the Hook. I expect that I shall arrive, with the first division, on the 14th, at Haverstraw. The second division will arrive on the 15th; and I promise to myself a great pleasure in embracing your Excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

* *In Congress, September 3d.* "Whereas the *Magnifique*, a seventy-four gun ship, belonging to the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, has been lately lost by accident in the harbour of Boston, and Congress are desirous of testifying on this occasion to his Majesty the sense they entertain of his generous exertions in behalf of the United States;

"Resolved, that the Agent of Marine be, and he is hereby, instructed to present the *America*, a seventy-four gun ship, in the name of the United States, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the service of his Most Christian Majesty."

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown, 7 September, 1782.

SIR,

I have the honor of presenting you with fifty copies of my last publication for the amusement of the army; and to repeat to you my acknowledgments of your friendship. I fully believe we have seen our worst days over. The spirit of the war, on the part of the enemy, is certainly on the decline, full as much as we think for. I draw this opinion not only from the difficulties we know they are in, and the present promiscuous appearance of things, but from the peculiar effect which certain periods of time have, more or less, upon all men.

The British have accustomed themselves to think of the term of seven years, in a manner different from other periods of time. They acquire this partly by habit, by religion, by reason, and by superstition. They serve seven years' apprenticeship; they elect their Parliament for seven years; they punish by seven years' transportation, or the duplicate, or triplicate of that term; their leases run in the same manner; and they read that Jacob served seven years for one wife, and seven years for another; and the same term likewise extinguishes all obligations, in certain cases, of debt or matrimony. And thus this particular period, by a variety of concurrences, has obtained an influence in their minds superior to that of any other number.

They have now had seven years' war, and are not an inch farther on the Continent than when they began. The superstitious and the popular part will conclude that it is *not to be*; the reasonable part will

think they have tried an unsuccessful scheme long enough, and that it is in vain to try it any longer; and the obstinate part of them will be beaten out, unless, consistently with their former sagacity, they get over the matter at once by passing a new Declaratory Act, to *bind Time in all cases whatsoever*, or declare him a rebel.

I observe that the affair of Captain Asgill seems to die away. It has probably been protracted on the part of Clinton and Carleton to gain time enough to state the matter to the Ministry, where, following close on that of Colonel Hayne, it will create new embarrassments; and I strongly believe that a suspension of his fate, still holding it *in terrorem*, will operate on a greater quantity of their passions and vices, and restrain them more than his execution. However, the change of measures that seems to be taking place, gives a new cast to former designs; and if the case, without the execution, can be so managed as to answer all the purposes of the latter, it will look infinitely better hereafter, when the sensations that now provoke, and the circumstances that would immediately justify his exit, shall be forgotten or but faintly remembered. Wishing your Excellency every happiness and prosperity, I remain

Your obliged and obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL STARK.

Derryfield, 23 September, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR,

Since my arrival at New Hampshire, I have been exercised with almost every perplexity, pain and trou-

ble, that a shattered constitution could entail. During the course of the winter, and greater part of the spring and summer, I was scarce able to ride five miles; but, as the autumn begins to advance, I find my health gradually returning, and had thoughts of taking a ride to camp, in case I could have found cash enough in the State to defray my expenses. But, after repeated applications for a sum voted me by Congress in the month of September, 1781, I am at length informed (trifling as the sum is) that the money is not in the Treasury of the State, and no immediate prospect of matters being in a better situation. In this case, I would beg your Excellency's advice. Money I have none, and my private fortune scarce competent to the support of a numerous offspring, which Heaven has been pleased to bestow. Congress undoubtedly expected that the State would pay me what they voted, and the requisition the General Assembly agreed to accept; but the Treasury is empty, and no money in the State to replenish it. However, should your Excellency think my presence at any place in the army necessary for the good of my country, I will endeavour, upon the shortest notice, to prepare myself to comply with your commands.

This State has exceeded all expectations in raising their recruits; yet there is still a number deficient, which probably may not be got very soon. And, indeed, it is not surprising that the affairs of this State should be very irregular, during its present complicated, unsettled form of government.

The General Assembly, sensible of the impracticability of paying the tax for this year in cash, have resolved the same be paid in the different species of the produce of the country; in consequence of which, a considerable number of beef-cattle has been

collected, and many more will no doubt be soon raised, for the use of the army.

Most sincerely wishing you success, that your path on the theatre of glory may still continue to shine with its usual splendor, and that you may soon be able to restore to your country a safe, honorable, and lasting tranquillity, is the ardent desire of your most obedient,

Most devoted, and very humble servant,
JOHN STARK.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ashley Hill, 4 October, 1782.

SIR,

I am much obliged by your Excellency's long and communicative letters of the 9th of July and 6th of August. Since my letter of the 26th of August, the evacuation of Charleston is reduced to a certainty. The following disposition, it is said, is to be made of the troops in garrison.

Lord Rawdon's corps, which is put upon the British establishment as the one hundred and fifth regiment, is going directly to Ireland. Governor Martin's corps is drafted into the North Carolina volunteers, which, with the South Carolina royalists, and the King's Carolina rangers, and the refugees, are going to St. Augustine, to relieve the British troops at that place. The Georgia loyalists are incorporated with the King's Carolina rangers. It is said these troops are to sail on Sunday. After these troops are gone, there will remain in Charleston; the residue of the guards the seventeenth, twenty-third, thirty-third, and seventy-first regiments; five companies of the eighty-second; the

flank companies of the eighty-fourth; a detachment of British artillery, the third, sixty-third, and sixty-fourth regiments; the Hessian corps of A Dittforth, and Bening; a detachment of Hessian artillery and Yagers; with the American corps, the New York volunteers, the King's American regiment, the Prince of Wales's regiment, the first and second battalions of Delancey's, and the second battalion of New Jersey volunteers. These are to join the troops at New York; but whether at that place, or on their passage to some other port, is uncertain, as it seems to be a matter fully established here that New York is to be evacuated.

What is the object of the British Ministry, or the British Commander, in drawing off the troops from this country, is difficult to tell. I confess it looks like an approaching peace; and yet I cannot but have my doubts. Reports say that Sir Guy Carleton is to go to Canada, and that Lord Cornwallis is to command in the West Indies. This disposition is equivocal, as it points both to war or peace, only upon a different plan. Could Great Britain humble the pride of France by some lucky stroke, I should not be surprised to find them forming new attacks upon us. But if they cannot reduce the navy of France, they may embrace a peace, as least ruinous to their affairs, however mortifying to their pride.

I wrote your Excellency on the 12th of August a pretty full state of all matters in this quarter, and wish your final determination with respect to the disposition of the troops to the southward. I find, by a resolution of Congress, no State is to be credited for troops not enlisted agreeably to the resolutions of Congress on that subject. Whether those men, drafted in North Carolina for eighteen months, will be

brought into service under these circumstances, I cannot determine. They ought to have been in camp long since, if they had marched agreeably to my orders; but I have not heard of one man being on the march. On the contrary, reports say the State will not permit them to come. Should these troops not come forward, and the others march northwardly, it will leave the Southern States exceedingly defenceless, and much exposed even to the inroads of the troops in East Florida and the attacks from the Indians.

On our possessing Charleston, the fortifications will come under consideration. My object would be to render it sufficiently strong to protect its trade against sudden descents of three or four thousand; but, when a force invades it that is superior to the natural strength of the country, it must fall; and to incur a large expense in the fortification, and sacrifice the garrison only to protract its fall for a few days, will be neither wise nor prudent. I should recommend, therefore, whenever there appears a force sufficient to possess the town by regular approaches, to abandon it, and to have the principal magazine of the country at Camden.

To leave the town without any fortifications, will render trade so unsafe as to be highly injurious to the public finances; besides, the perpetual alarms to which the inhabitants will be constantly exposed, will render their situation exceedingly disagreeable. All the Southern States are in a deplorable situation, and will require a great deal of nursing and care to establish good government and give a proper spur to agriculture and commerce. At present there are no Courts of Justice in any of the States, and it is dangerous travelling in almost every part of the country,

from the great number of robbers and private plunderers that infest the roads. From these circumstances your Excellency can judge how feeble must be the efforts of a people in this situation, reduced to poverty by continual depredations.

I have received orders from the Secretary of War to collect the minds of the officers for the reform of the army, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 7th of August. I have taken the sentiments of the officers here, and forwarded them to the respective States, to have the business completed. That part of the plan which proposes filling the Staff from the retiring officers, I fear will not be found eligible. The consideration proposed is by no means a sufficient encouragement to induce suitable characters to engage; and if the appointments are confined to the retiring officers alone, it may be difficult to find suitable characters. Good Staff-Officers facilitate the operations and business of an army greatly, and the want of such embarrasses it exceedingly. I am not certain that I comprehend the intentions of Congress fully, and therefore can say little on the subject.

This army has been exceedingly sickly in the months of August and September, and remains so still, as your Excellency will see by the returns. The enemy have been equally so. After I wrote to you of the enemy's operations to the southward, General Gist took one of their galleys. Major Frazer attempted a surprise upon General Marion, but was repulsed, with the loss of one officer killed, two wounded, and ten or twelve dragoons killed and wounded. These are all the military occurrences which have happened since that period. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 20 October, 1782.

SIR,

I was this morning honored with your Excellency's letter of the 19th instant. When I transmitted the affidavits, &c., inclosed in my last, I was sensible of the delicacy entertained by your Excellency respecting your interference with the internal police of the French army; but, as the persons concerned in the dispute were Americans, I should have had great reluctance in making the application to Count Rochambeau. I was in hopes, too, that the mere knowledge of your Excellency's having been applied to on the subject, would have induced the parties to have compromised the matter, which I still hope will be the case.

I very candidly confess I am of opinion with your Excellency, that nothing extraordinary is to be apprehended from the late accounts we have had of the collection of the enemy's forces at the Isle-aux-Noix and Oswego. And this sentiment I expressed to Lord Stirling, in the first communication I made to him of the intelligence I had received; though I thought it my duty, as I mentioned to your Excellency, to order a part of the militia to be held in readiness. I learn, however, that the frontier inhabitants are much alarmed at those hostile appearances; and I am therefore very apprehensive that, if any part of the troops on the northern and western frontiers were to be removed before the season is somewhat farther advanced, and thereby even the possibility of the enemy's visiting them with large parties be removed, it might create great uneasiness among

them, and perhaps induce the more exposed to abandon their settlements, and remove into the interior parts of the State ; which would be exceedingly distressing to themselves, and injurious to the public. Indeed, if it might be consistent with your Excellency's views, I should conceive that the continuing of a small regular force to the northward during the winter, might be attended with good consequences, especially as they may be comfortably accommodated. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Hartford, 30 October, 1782.

SIR,

At the moment of my departure for Boston this morning, I received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, saying that he is sorry to have appointed the 8th of next month for my arrival with my troops at Boston, because the men-of-war at Portsmouth are not yet ready, and he does not believe that he will be in readiness to set sail before the 20th of November. In consequence of which, I have resolved to stay here four days longer ; then to go as far as Providence, by very short journeys, where I shall stay until the fleet be ready. By these means I shall have more time to receive intelligence from your Excellency concerning the motions of the enemy, and to know, first, if Admiral Pigot is really gone with a part of the fleet to the West Indies ; secondly, if the counter order for the non-evacuation

of Charleston has really been sent as it is reported; thirdly, if this counter order is arrived timely enough to hinder the evacuation; on which three objects I beg of your Excellency to inform me, as you know that on these objects depends the embarkation of the troops, or their not embarking.

I shall leave two hussars at Boston, and two at Voluntown, to bring me your Excellency's letters at Providence. I am, with respect and personal attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Ashley Hill, 10 December, 1782.

SIR,

I doubt not your Excellency expected to hear of the evacuation of Charleston long before this. The enemy are not yet gone, although now just upon the eve of their departure. In two days more, the town will be free.

Your letter of the 23d of September I just acknowledged in November, with a promise to give it a more full answer at a future day. The Minister at War sent me an order for incorporating and arranging the troops of the several States, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 7th of August. I have formed one complete regiment out of the Pennsylvania troops, and one out of the Maryland troops, and sent the remainder belonging to both States home. Few of those of the Pennsylvania line have longer to serve than January next; the Maryland troops have

most of them a longer time to serve. I have sent home also the Delaware troops, and shall send the detachment of the fourth regiment of cavalry, under Captain Gill, to Virginia, to join the rest of the regiment in that State. I believe, as soon as the enemy are gone, I shall send the legion to Virginia. The first and third regiments being incorporated, will afford sufficient protection to this country from present appearances. I have not fully determined how to dispose of the legion, nor can I, until I am better satisfied with respect to the force at St. Augustine, to which place all the Provincial corps contained in the inclosed list are gone. The British troops that were there have joined those at Charleston.

By one observation in your Excellency's letter, respecting offensive operations, it appears a doubt with you whether you have authority to order an enterprise against St. Augustine. As there is a doubt on the matter, I shall remain quiet until I am more fully instructed. But if we had orders to undertake it, the thing would be impracticable without a convoy to convey the provisions and stores by water, if not the troops also. But more of this, hereafter. As to an Indian expedition, I perfectly agree with your Excellency that there is nothing to apprehend from them after British influence once fails; and by all I can learn, the savages are generally inclined to peace, except a few of the more restless and enterprising young men, who are ambitious of military honors.

By intelligence from Charleston, the British troops are going to the West Indies. The Hessians, and such of the Provincial corps as remain, are going to New York, which is not to be evacuated till spring; nor do I believe it will then, if the war continues. I

am afraid the Southern States can produce but few men in the field, by any possible exertion in their power. South Carolina and Georgia I am sure cannot. The force that North Carolina will have in the field, after a few days, will not exceed seven hundred men. There is a detachment of Virginians here, which had better be completed from the troops levying in Virginia to a regiment, or march from here, and join those in the State. I shall wait your orders on the subject.

Whatever disposition you intend to make with the troops in this department, I could wish to be made acquainted with it as early as possible, to be in readiness to carry your orders into execution as early and as fully as possible. South Carolina and Georgia have not more than one small battalion of troops, and those not of the best kind. The enemy's force at St. Augustine is not contemptible, which, aided by the savages, and the militia, now numerous from its being a place of resort for the Tories, may make a serious impression upon Georgia. The State, without a considerable force to protect it for some time, cannot recover from the ravages it has felt, or even prosecute any trade or agriculture. Charleston will be stripped, and left defenceless, until new fortifications can be raised, and cannon provided. In this situation, and being altogether uncertain of the enemy's future plan of operations, I hope it will not be thought that I have detained too many troops for the present. I am, with great respect and perfect esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM COLONEL PICKERING.

Newburg, 18 January, 1783.

SIR,

Your Excellency had but just left my quarters this evening, when a Deputy-Sheriff of Ulster arrested me. He showed me a writ, of which I beg leave to inclose a copy. To prevent any injury to the public, by taking me from my office, I gave bail, and have wrote to an attorney to defend the suit.

I thought it my duty to apprise your Excellency of this event. The plaintiff is a Melancthon L. Woolsey. I do not know him, nor ever heard his name before; but a gentleman, who happens to be at my office, tells me that he is a trader at Poughkeepsie, who has been purchasing up specie certificates (signed by me, and issued pursuant to an act of Congress of the 23d of August, 1780), at a very great discount.

The suit, therefore, is doubtless grounded on such certificates. But, on the same ground, some thousands of suits may be brought against me in this State alone.

Congress, by an act of the 19th of March, 1782, recommended to the several States to pass laws to exempt public officers from such suits. Some complied with the recommendation. This State deliberated upon it, and a bill passed the Assembly; but the Council of Revision offered objections, and it was dropped. To subject public officers to such actions, is doubtless cruel oppression. At the same time, the community is burdened with a great expense. If such suits be multiplied, and the numerous public creditors have all as just cause of action, they cannot even benefit the prosecutors; for the property of pub-

lie officers, compared with the vastness of the public debts, is but as the small dust of the balance. There is but one class of people who can derive advantage from such prosecutions. They, indeed, will reap a rich harvest, if all, or a majority of the public creditors, become equally unreasonable with the few that have hitherto commenced such suits. With the writ, the Sheriff presented me a letter from Mr. Benson, of which the inclosed is a copy.

I am singularly unfortunate in being subjected to suits on specie certificates; for it was at my instance that Congress passed the act authorizing me to issue them. My motive was to do the best possible justice to the public creditors, by fixing their dues in specie, and allowing them the interest of their money, which I saw it was impossible for the public promptly to pay. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Cadiz, 5 February, 1783.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Were you but such a man as Julius Cæsar, or the King of Prussia, I should almost be sorry for you at the end of the great tragedy where you are acting such a part. But, with my dear General, I rejoice at the blessings of a peace where our noble ends have been secured. Remember our Valley-Forge times; and, from a recollection of past dangers and labors, we shall be still more pleased at our present comfortable situation. What a sense of pride and

satisfaction I feel, when I think of the times that have determined my engaging in the American cause!

As for you, my dear General, who truly can say you have done all this, what must your virtuous and good heart feel, on the happy instant when the revolution you have made is now firmly established! I cannot but envy the happiness of my grandchildren, when they will be about celebrating and worshipping your name. To have one of their ancestors among your soldiers, to know he had the good fortune to be the friend of your heart, will be the eternal honor in which they shall glory; and to the eldest of them, as long as my posterity will last, I shall delegate the favor you have been pleased to confer upon my son George.

At the prospect of a peace, I had prepared to go to America. You know me too well, my dear General, not to be sensible of the pleasure I anticipated in the hope to embrace you, and to be reunited to my fellow-soldiers. Never did any thing please me so much as the delightful prospect I had before me. But, on a sudden, I have been obliged to defer my darling plan; and, as I have at last been blessed with a letter of yours, I know you approve of my lengthening my furlough upon political accounts. The inclosed copy of a letter to Congress, and my official letter to Mr. Livingston, which I request him to communicate to you, will fully inform you of the reasons that urge me to post off to Madrid. From there it will be better for me to go to Paris; and in the month of June I will embark for America. Happy, ten times happy, shall I be in embracing my dear General, my father, my best friend, whom I love with an affection and a respect, which I too well feel not to know it is impossible to me to express it.

In my letters to Congress you will also see, that, independent of the plans I had been permitted to propose to you, in the execution of which we were to have an immense naval and land force, it had been at last obtained I should enter Canada. I had my hopes to embrace you at Montreal, or at least to be met there by a detachment from the army. The necessity of a diversion was the ground upon which we had obtained the King of Spain's consent. But now those schemes are over, and we must rejoice in the happiness of those you have rescued from the hands of British tyranny.

Now, my dear General, that you are going to enjoy some ease and quiet, permit me to propose a plan to you, which might become greatly beneficial to the black part of mankind. Let us unite in purchasing a small estate, where we may try the experiment to free the negroes, and use them only as tenants. Such an example as yours might render it a general practice; and if we succeed in America, I will cheerfully devote a part of my time to render the method fashionable in the West Indies. If it be a wild scheme, I had rather be mad this way, than to be thought wise in the other task.

I am so anxious to hear from you, my dear General, and to let you hear from me, that I have sent my own servant with a vessel, upon which I have prevailed to set him ashore on the Maryland coast. Before I leave France, I hope I may receive your answers, and I will be directed where to find you on my arrival. Upon that intelligence I depend to regulate my course, and if you are at home, I shall steer for the Bay of Chesapeake.

Your influence, my dear General, cannot be better employed than in inducing the people of America to

strengthen their Federal Union. It is a work in which it behooves you to be concerned. I look upon it as a necessary measure. Depend upon it, my dear General, that European politics will be apt to create divisions among the States. Now is the time when the powers of Congress must be fixed, the boundaries determined, and articles of confederation revised. It is a work in which every well-wisher to America must desire to be concerned. It is the finishing stroke, that is wanting to the perfection of the temple of liberty.

As to the army, my dear General, what will be its fate? I hope their country will be grateful. Should the reverse be the case, I should indeed feel very unhappy. Will part of the army be kept together? If not, I hope we shall not forfeit our noble titles of officers and soldiers in the American army; so that, in case of danger, we may be called upon from every quarter, and reunite in the defence of a country, which the army has so effectually, so heroically served. I long to know what measures will be taken. Indeed, my dear General, I depend upon your goodness for a very minute letter, not only on public accounts, but also because I want to be acquainted with every one of your personal concerns.

Adieu, adieu, my dear General. Had the Spaniards got common sense, I could have dispensed with that cursed trip to Madrid; but I am called upon by a sense of my duty to America. I must go, and defer the happy voyage. My best, most affectionate respects wait upon Mrs. Washington. Now we are going to quarrel; for I must urge your returning with me to France. Her accompanying you there, is the best way I know of to compromise the matter; and so she will make Madame de Lafayette and me perfectly happy.

I request your Excellency will please to present my compliments to Tilghman, George, and all the family. Remember me to all my friends in the army. I am so hurried in sending the vessel away, that I will write to them by other opportunities. They know my love to them, and I have a grateful sense of their friendship. Be so kind, my dear General, as to remember me to your much-respected mother. Her happiness I heartily partake. Adieu, once more, my dear General. With every sentiment of love and respect, I am forever,

Your most devoted and affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.*

Philadelphia, 7 February, 1783.

SIR,

Flattering myself that your knowledge of me will induce you to receive the observations I make, as dictated by a regard to the public good, I take the liberty to suggest to you my ideas on some matters of delicacy and importance. I view the present juncture as a very interesting one. I need not observe how far the temper and situation of the army may make it so. The state of our finances was perhaps never more critical. I am under injunctions, which will not permit me to disclose some facts that would at once demonstrate this position; but I think it probable you will be possessed of them through another channel. It is, however, certain that there has scarcely been a period of the revolution which called more for

* Colonel Hamilton had taken his seat in Congress, as a Delegate from the State of New York, on the 25th of November, 1782.

wisdom and decision in Congress. Unfortunately for us, we are a body not governed by reason or foresight, but by circumstances. It is probable we shall not take the proper measures; and, if we do not, a few months may open an embarrassing scene. This will be the case, whether we have peace or a continuance of the war.

If the war continues, it would seem that the army must, in June, subsist itself *to defend the country*. If peace should take place, it *will* subsist itself to procure *justice to itself*. It appears to be a prevailing opinion in the army, that the disposition to recompense their services will cease with the necessity for them; and that, if they once lay down their arms, they part with the means of obtaining justice. It is to be lamented that appearances afford too much ground for their distrust.

It becomes a serious inquiry, What is the true line of policy? The claims of the army, urged with moderation, but with firmness, may operate on those weak minds which are influenced by their apprehensions more than by their judgments, so as to produce a concurrence in the measures which the exigencies of affairs demand. They may add weight to the applications of Congress to the several States. So far a useful turn may be given to them. But the difficulty will be to keep a complaining and suffering army within the bounds of moderation.

This your Excellency's influence must effect. In order to it, it will be advisable not to discountenance their endeavour to procure redress, but rather, by the intervention of confidential and prudent persons, *to take the direction of them*. This, however, must not appear; it is of moment to the public tranquillity that your Excellency should preserve the confidence

of the army without losing that of the people. This will enable you, in case of extremity, to guide the torrent, and to bring order, perhaps even good, out of confusion. It is a part that requires address, but it is one which your own situation as well as the welfare of the community points out.

I will not conceal from your Excellency a truth, which it is necessary you should know. An idea is propagated in the army, that delicacy, carried to an extreme, prevents your espousing its interests with sufficient warmth. The falsehood of this opinion no one can be better acquainted with than myself; but it is not the less mischievous for being false. Its tendency is to impair that influence which you may exert with advantage, should any commotions unhappily ensue, to moderate the pretensions of the army, and make their conduct correspond with their duty.

The great *desideratum* at present is the establishment of general funds, which alone can do justice to the creditors of the United States (of whom the army forms the most meritorious class), restore public credit, and supply the future wants of Government. This is the object of all men of sense; in this the influence of the army, properly directed, may coöperate.

The intimations I have thrown out will suffice to give your Excellency a proper conception of my sentiments. You will judge of their reasonableness or fallacy; but I persuade myself you will do justice to my motives. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. General Knox has the confidence of the

army, and is a man of sense. I think he may be safely made use of. Situated as I am, your Excellency will feel the confidential nature of these observations.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.*

Philadelphia, 26 February, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with the directions of Congress, contained in the inclosed resolution,† I have the honor to inform your Excellency that our last despatches, dated in October, announced a disposition in the belligerent powers to terminate the war by a general peace. The Court of London, whose sincerity was most suspected because it was to make the greatest sacrifices, appears to have smoothed the way, by the commission to Mr. Oswald, which your Excellency has seen, empowering him to treat with the Thirteen United States of America. Mr. Rayneval, brother to Mr. Gerard, having been sent from France to sound the intentions of the British Ministry, returned perfectly satisfied of their sincerity.

A little before our despatches were closed, our Ministers had delivered three propositions to the Court of London. They consisted of three general heads, which comprised our right to the fisheries, the extent of our territories, and commercial objects. Though

* Mr. Livingston had been appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs by Congress on the 10th of August, 1781.

† "Ordered, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs make a confidential communication to the Commander-in-chief of the state of the negotiations for peace, when the last advices were received." *Secret Journals*, Vol. I. p. 255.

these propositions contained all we could ask, under each of these heads, yet Mr. Oswald gave our Ministers reason to conclude that they would be granted; which I am inclined to believe they have been, in their fullest extent, from the lead which our Ministers have taken in signing Provisional Articles.

France, Spain, and Holland had made their proposals, so that the King of Great Britain was perfectly apprised of their demands before he met his Parliament. There is little room, therefore, to doubt, when these facts are compared with the speech of His Britannic Majesty, that, unless some unforeseen event should arise, a general peace will be concluded before the opening of the next campaign.

I was honored by your letter of the 18th, and have delivered the one inclosed to Mr. Jefferson, who is detained, by order of Congress, till they receive more certain advices as to the issue of the negotiation. I should also acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 8th of January, which I found here on my return from the country. I think with you, that the British Administration will choose to take the advice of Parliament on the terms of peace, before they agree to them. Yet they have gone every length with respect to us. In this, however, they are perfectly safe; as the opposition have, all along, dictated that measure, so that, on this quarter, they are secure from their attacks. More circumspection will be necessary in adjusting the Articles with the other belligerent powers. To this cause we may probably attribute the delays that the business still seems to struggle with.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept my compliments, and those of my family, who join me in returning our

best respects to Mrs. Washington. I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 27 February, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

Your favors of the 14th of December last and the 11th instant, have been duly received. A series of ill health through the fall and the greatest part of the winter, which, until very lately, rendered my attendance in Congress seldom, and very irregular, must be my apology for suffering the first to remain so long unanswered.

Congress have been, for some time past, almost wholly employed in devising some general and adequate funds for paying the interest, and in time sinking the principal, of the public debt, as well as to provide for future loans, should the continuance of the war render borrowing necessary. Difficulties, apparently insurmountable, presented themselves in almost every stage of the business, owing to the different circumstances of the several States, and the necessity that the subjects, selected for taxation to form the funds, should operate throughout them all, generally and equally, or nearly so, to make them acceptable.

After opening and discussing a variety of questions, no object has been yet discovered to which so few objections lie, as the impost duty formerly recommended to the States, and which, with some alterations from the former plan, to obviate the objections

that have been raised, has been agreed to in a Committee of the Whole, and will, I think, be finally adopted. What this duty, when granted by the States, will amount to annually, is very uncertain. In time of peace, there can be no doubt but it will be considerable, and for years prove an increasing fund; but it is thought by no means adequate to the payment of the interest, and sinking the principal of the national debt. Other means have, therefore, been considered in aid of the impost duty, land, polls, salt, wine, spirits, tea, &c.; these last, being what are called luxuries, it is thought may bear a small tax in addition to the impost duty. I fear, at present, few of them will go down; and that we shall be obliged, at last, to rest the payment of the public debt upon the mode prescribed by the Confederation (requisitions proportioned on the States according to the value of land, buildings, &c., a plan for obtaining which scale of proportion has been digested, and agreed upon in Congress, and will immediately go on to the States), and the produce of the five per cent. duty, if granted. A small poll-tax, did not the constitution of Maryland stand in the way, might probably succeed, as it would operate more equally, perhaps, than any other, and may be adopted, allowing Maryland to substitute some other adequate and productive fund in its room.

A short time will bring to a conclusion our efforts on this business, which I am in hopes will terminate in the adoption of such measures as may be acceptable to the States, and produce the granting such funds as will restore public credit, give value to the great mass of depreciated certificates, and enable Congress to render to every class of the public creditors ample justice. Congress have the purest intentions

towards the public creditors, and will use their best exertions in obtaining from the States the means to do them speedy and complete justice.

Such is their opinion of the merit and services of the army, that, did it not wound the sense of justice, they want not the inclination to give them the preference to any other class of creditors; but equity and sound policy forbid discrimination and partial distinctions. One ground of discontent in the army, and on which they found the opinion that justice is not intended to be done to them, is the delay in complying with their requests; but, with those acquainted with the deliberations of public bodies, and especially with so mixed a body as that of Congress, allowances will be made for slow determination. Every class of public creditors must know the inability of Congress to pay their demands, unless furnished with the means by the several States; and the exertions of that body have not been wanting, heretofore, to obtain the means, though they have not produced the desired effect. The measures now digesting will, there is good reason to expect, prove more efficacious for obvious reasons.

Reports are freely circulated here, that there are dangerous combinations in the army; and, within a few days past, it has been said, they are about to declare they will not disband until their demands are complied with. I trust these reports are not well founded, and that the army will exercise, awhile longer at least, that patient forbearance, which hath hitherto so honorably distinguished them. To you it must be unnecessary to observe, that when once all confidence between the civil and military authority is lost, by intemperate conduct, or an assumption of improper power, especially by the military body, the

Rubicon is passed, and to retreat will be very difficult, from the fears and jealousies that will unavoidably subsist between the two bodies. To avoid, therefore, the adoption by the army of any hasty and rash measure, should employ the attention, and draw forth the exertions of every worthy officer in it; for from these alone can opposition be expected.

The ambition of some, and the pressure of distress in others, may produce dangerous combinations, founded on the pretence that justice is delayed and will be refused to them. The pretext is plausible and ensnaring, and may draw into engagements the unsuspecting, honest soldier, from which it will be difficult to extricate himself, even when he sees the dangers they lead to. If there are men in the army who harbour wicked designs, and are determined to blow the coals of discord, they will gradually endeavour to hurt the reputation of those averse to their projects, and by sinister practices lessen their weight and influence among the soldiery. I have lately heard there are those who are abandoned enough to use their arts to lessen your popularity in the army; in hopes, ultimately, the weight of your opposition will prove no obstacle to their ambitious designs. If this be true, and they are likely to succeed, I own it will prove a bad prognostic of the future. I shall be among the number of those who entertain fears of the army, and doubt that peace will not be followed by its usual blessings to America. Whether to temporize, or oppose with steady, unremitting firmness, what is supposed to be in agitation of dangerous tendency, or that may be agitated, must be left to your own sense of propriety, and better judgment.

With respect to the business of Vermont, I think you need not be uneasy from apprehensions that the

army, or any part of them, will be employed to enforce a compliance with the act of the 5th of December last, should the people of Vermont refuse a compliance with that demand; at least for some time to come, if ever. To go into detail upon this matter would be prolix, and rather improper for the scope of a letter. It cannot be denied, that the act of Congress of the 20th of August [1781], opened the prospect to Vermont of an acknowledgment of their independence, and admission into the Union. Although it gave ground of hope, it was not conclusive; and the Legislature of Vermont, absolutely rejecting the offer, and recommending to the people an inviolable adherence to their union and encroachments on the adjoining States, as well as other unwarrantable acts they have unjustly concealed from the public in their remonstrance, released Congress from their offer, and left them at liberty afterwards to accept or refuse, as they saw fit, when Vermont, repenting of her conduct at a future period, complied.

A particular state of things produced the act of Congress; a change of circumstances afterwards dictated the delay in determining on their proposition, and the report of a Committee, to whom it was referred. This report authorizes observations I decline to make. This proceeding in Congress they style a violation of the compact entered into with them. There always has been a strong opposition to the claims of Vermont, and their admission into the Union. Virginia has generally been among the number of her opponents, not so much, perhaps, upon the question of independence, as the impolicy of her admission into the Union while several very important questions of local concern remained undetermined; and, until these great points are settled, the consent

of Virginia, I expect, will be withheld, and, if before obtained, it will be a sacrifice of her opinion to the peace and common weal of the United States.

If Vermont confines herself to the limits assigned to her, and ceases to encroach upon and disturb the quiet of the adjoining States, at the same time avoiding combinations, or arts, hostile to the United States, she may be at rest within her limits, and, by patient waiting the convenient time, may ere long be admitted to the privileges of Union. The influence Vermont has gained in the army, and in some of the States that espouse her cause, do little credit to the parties concerned; and to this influence is in a great measure to be ascribed the variable, indecisive conduct of Congress respecting the claims of that people. The remonstrance states the receipt of *official* letters recommending a compliance with the act of Congress, and intimates yours to be of the number; and that these communications influenced them to comply. The assertion is wrong as to yours, and may be equally false as to others, and is one proof, among a variety of others, of the disingenuity and want of candor in Vermont. It exhibits, also, very little respect to this body, when they ascribe their compliance to other motives than the recommendation of Congress.

Seven States have voted five years' whole pay as the commutation for the half-pay to the officers; but the resolution has not passed the House, being postponed, for the present, from an opinion prevalent with many, that the consent of nine States is necessary to give it validity. Delaware and Georgia are absent; were they represented, probably the vote would be sufficient.

That we shall have peace soon, is almost reduced

to a certainty; but my fears are, it will not be attended with those blessings generally expected. There are so many great questions, very interesting to particular States, unsettled, which require speedy determination to preserve quiet, that it is difficult to avoid uneasy impressions for their consequences. The present conjuncture, perhaps, above all others America has experienced, calls for good dispositions in the States, and moderation and wisdom in their counsels. May the spirit of Union govern them, is the earnest wish of, dear Sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

JOSEPH JONES.

END OF VOL. III.

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